Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-129 *6 July 1995*

CONTENTS

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INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Czech, Slovak Ministers on Postclearing Relations *[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 3 Jul]* 1

ALBANIA

Procedural Snags Hinder Property Restitution *[REPUBLIKA 2 Jul]* 2
PS Leader Explains Party Stand in Legislature *[ZERI I POPULLIT 21 Jun]* 3

BULGARIA

Demirel Speaks to Assembly About Cooperation *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Gives News Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Editorial Stresses 'Economic, Strategic Interests' *[DUMA 30 Jun]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Parliamentary Delegation Travels to Israel *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 4 Jul]* 8
SDL's Weiss Discusses Relations With HZDS *[NARODNA OBRODA 27 Jun]* 8
Opinion Poll Places HZDS First, With 27.4% *[NARODNA OBRODA 30 Jun]* 10

HUNGARY

Party Protests Language Laws in Slovakia, Romania *[Budapest TV]* 11
Officials Comment on Secret Service Allegations *[Budapest Radio]* 11
Poll Shows Smallholders as Popular as Socialists *[NEPSZABADSAG 1 Jul]* 13
Expert Assesses Long-Term Economic Concepts *[NEPSZABADSAG 5 Jul]* 14

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Accepts Minimum Humanitarian Consensus *[Sarajevo Radio]* 18
Government To Renew Aid Plea After Hunger Deaths *[AFP]* 18
Army Reports on Situation Around Sarajevo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 18
Croatian Delegation To Sign Sarajevo Statement *[Sarajevo Radio]* 19
Zubak Meets With Rapid Reaction Force General *[Zagreb Radio]* 19
UN Plan To Force Sarajevo Corridor Denied *[TANJUG]* 19
EU Mediator Bildt Arrives in Sarajevo *[AFP]* 19
Serbs Warn NATO, UN Against 'Further Attacks' *[Banja Luka Radio]* 20
Serbs Say Bosnian Army Shelling Serb-Held Towns *[Editorial Report]* 20
Krajisnik Rejects Latest Contact Group Plan *[SRNA]* 21
Krajisnik: War Could Be Brought to Quick End *[SRNA]* 21

CROATIA

'RSK' Offers Counterconditions for Talks *[SRNA]* 22
Martic Says Defense Must Be Strengthened *[SRNA]* 22

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Handzinski Discusses Defense Capability, NATO *[MIC]* 23
Gligorov Meets With Kosovo Ethnic Albanian Head *[TANJUG]* 24
Albanian Parties To Coordinate Activities *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 14 Jun]* 24
Ethnic Albanian Elites Must Be Realistic *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 17 Jun]* 25

POLAND

Olechowski Worried About Kohl Comments on NATO *[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 5 Jul]* 26
Walesa Said To Support 'S' Constitution Draft *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 5 Jul]* 26
Daily Sees How Walesa May Lose Election *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 Jul]* 27
Covenant Meeting Reveals Right Still Divided *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 5 Jul]* 28
Freedom Union Holds Support Meeting for Kuron *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 3 Jul]* 29
Defense Minister, Sejm Cooperation Viewed *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 3 Jul]* 30
Sejm Commission Head on Control Over Army *[WPROST 9 Jul]* 32
Need for Army Financing Reform Discussed *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 2 Jun]* 33
Increased Crime in Military Examined *[WPROST 28 May]* 35

ROMANIA

SRI Director Rebuffs Iliescu KGB Charges *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 28 Jun]* 38
Chief of Staff: SRI, Tudor Behind Letter *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 29 Jun]* 39
UDMR Head Says Internal Situation 'Dangerous' *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 1 Jul]* 40
Objects to Education Bill *[ROMANIA LIBERA 29 Jun]* 41

YUGOSLAVIA

President Congratulates Serbs on National Day *[TANJUG]* 43
Serbs in FRG Protest Against Bosnia Deployment *[TANJUG]* 43

Czech, Slovak Ministers on Postclearing Relations

AU0507145995 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Jul 95 pp 1, 11

[Article by Miroslav Prchal: "Slovak-Czech Relations Are Not on Hold"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Crans-Montana—Following his informal talks with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik and Economy Minister Jan Ducky, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus declared that, in Czech-Slovak relations, it is impossible to talk about "putting contacts, connections, and discussions on some kind of hold" and "no one even notices this." He was reacting to the recent statement by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar that contacts between the two governments will only be maintained at the level of ambassadors and ministerial officials. J. Ducky confirmed for our newspaper that he agrees with V. Klaus's view. Politicians from the two countries met on the weekend at the international economic forum in the Swiss town of Crans-Montana.

V. Klaus told Czech and Slovak journalists that he and Economy Minister Karel Dyba discussed mainly economic issues with the two Slovak officials. "I tried hard to explain to them that there is really no immediate connection between the abolition of clearing payment relations and the customs union" and that "the more pragmatically oriented members of the Slovak Government certainly also feel the same." Minister J. Ducky told our newspaper that the Slovak side would have preferred it if the Czech Republic had not canceled mutual clearing relations unilaterally but had reached this decision following an agreement between the two countries, an agreement "based on our logical proposal that had envisaged its abolition as of the beginning of next year."

Ducky also told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that, in the opinion of his government, "the customs union is functional and there is still a basis for it. Apart from its positive aspects, of course, it also has shortcomings that should be eliminated," as he proposed in the spring to Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech trade and industry minister. However, the joint commission that was established to deal with this problem has not, according to him, made much progress in its work.

The Slovak Government is trying in particular to make sure that the reexport of sensitive commodities from the Slovak Republic via the Czech Republic is rendered impossible, especially as far as scrap metal, wooden materials, and some agricultural products are concerned.

The Czech prime minister commented in connection with the possible reexports that, if they are really taking place, "this is a matter for consideration." Nevertheless, according to him, reexports are "more sensitive" for clearing payment relations than paying for goods in a hard currency, and it is difficult to quantify or monitor the movement of such goods. Minister Ducky told our newspaper that the aforementioned commodities cross two borders, and, consequently, the Czech customs authorities must have an overview of this. The Slovak Government, as he said, has already quantified the volume of reexports involving the aforementioned sensitive items.

In connection with the view expressed by Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik that, in order to preserve the customs union, Slovakia will, apparently, ask the Czech Republic, as the stronger economic partner, for compensation similar to that given by the more advanced EU members to the weaker ones, V. Klaus said that this is the first time, as prime minister and an economist, that he has heard that something like this would be possible within the system of a customs union. According to him, the EU applies "certain elements of fiscal federalism" from which the economically weaker member countries profit. In the Czech-Slovak case, however, the issue involves not a common market but a customs union. According to S. Kozlik, a mechanism should function within the framework of the customs union that would specify the sensitive items and establish for some of them the volume of minimum imports and exports.

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Procedural Snags Hinder Property Restitution

AU0307083095 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 2 Jul 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Restitution of Property at the Crossroads in 1995"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

I.

The first commission for the restitution of property to its rightful owners was formed in June 1993 and lasted until August 1994. The fact that it did nothing for one year is quite inexcusable. Nevertheless, between June 1993 and August 1994, 81 commissions for the restitution of property were created, which were obliged to wait until the Central Commission for the Restitution of Property was created before they could properly start work.

Nevertheless, there are now throughout the country 45 commissions for the restitution of property in municipalities and 36 in the country's districts.

II.

When these commissions were formed, regulations were laid down, files were compiled, and schedules for submissions were decided. A deadline of 31 August was set. By that date, about 11,639 property cases were collected throughout the country by the district commissions and 14,739 in the urban municipalities. However, work has been continuing for about one year and a half to complete these cases for the return of property to its rightful owners.

The first problem mentioned by Rakip Shquti, chairman of the Central Commission for the Restitution of Property under the Council of Ministers, lies in serious gaps in the documents of the land offices and registers that prove title. Its is thought that only about 30-35 percent of these documents exist, and the rest have vanished. When the Central Commission asked for confirmation of its data from the archives, this was found to be impossible. "Two elderly archivists who organized these documents between 1945 and 1965 were called for," Mr. Shquti said, "but they were amazed when they saw their present state. They said that such devastation was impossible. Even though it is a necessary requirement, only half of the original documents have been obtained and many former owners are obliged to set off on courtroom marathons in order to prove their title through written evidence at their disposal and through the testimony of witnesses. However, this method is not absolutely effective or objective in the way that land registry records are."

After title is recognized by the courts, there are extraordinary difficulties in taking actual possession of property because there have been many decisions overturning earlier rulings, as the Central Commission explains. This gives rise to unnecessary complications like in Sarande, where four times the surface area would be necessary if the commission were to restore property rights according to the files that have been submitted.

III.

The state of the land registry is perhaps the element that most obstructs the return of property. Mr. Shquti explains, "I do not understand what our land registries are doing, especially in Tirana. Every office should create a commission to accept citizens' applications and to issue photocopies of the original documents, instead of the present practice, under which citizens are given the registry of 1939 and may find themselves what they are looking for, but may also tear out or rub out entries. At least the 30 percent that remains should be preserved."

IV.

The licenses issued by the municipalities, communes, and various urban authorities for the temporary construction of kiosks on "vacant land" have created a great problem. There are about 2,000 owners whose property has been restored only partially or not at all, because the kiosks cannot be moved. Nationwide, there are about 2,000 kiosks that have been turned into proper, permanent structures in an entirely illegal fashion. The legitimate owners express the suspicion that corruption is behind this.

V.

The courts have now been caught up in the property dance in many ways. First, in proving title: Because documents are missing, there are today about 6,000 property owners waiting at courtroom doors only in order to prove their titles. which, if they succeed, will give them the exclusive right to submit cases, even though the deadline for their submission was 31 August 1994. Other owners are in the courts because the state has constructed buildings on their property and between 1991 and 1993 privatized them in the favor of the people who worked in them,. Thus the owners, even though they receive legitimate documents for the return of their property, need to resort to the courts. Nationwide, these number about 3,400 owners. "New owners" have sprouted up on their property in the shape of former shop assistants, barbers, joiners, watch repairers, television repairmen, waiters, and canteen workers.

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Also before the courts are many files relating to houses and villas in which the communist state housed the governing elite, whom it is very difficult to evict today. This at any rate has been true in the cases of Tefta Cami, Rrapo Dervishi, etc.

Finally, not even the courts themselves are free of the property restitution committees. Of the decisions made by the commissions, 840 have been contested. Owners disagreeing with the decisions that have been made have overturned about 222 of them, making the courts return property to its owners, because the commissions had been in error.

VI.

The most difficult problem remains the conflict between the legitimate owners and the state in cases in which factories and monstrous industrial "giants" occupying large areas have been constructed. Such industries occupy the land of about 4,000 owners, whom the state is seeking to compensate either in kind or with the help of bonds. The greatest question marks hang over these cases. The state wished to privatize this land with the help of the bonds of the kind recently issued, but let us not forget that we are dealing with landowners. They refuse to accept the logic whereby groups of people can have the property expropriated in perpetuity for bonds, but it is the state that decides. This problem remains open.

VII. The Diaspora—Most Forgotten

Mr. Rakip Shquti, chairman of the Central Commission for the Restitution of Property, accepts this fact. There are about 3,100 properties owned by Albanians of the diaspora (judging by the areas left unclaimed). Some of the diaspora have had their problems solved for them against their will, because their relatives, counting them for lost, have taken over their property with the help of written evidence and witnesses (a semievil). The remainder of the owners in the diaspora are "deemed" to be lost and their property is being used in order to satisfy other owners who are due compensation in kind from the state. They should not allow the state to make this mistake. We are all aware that the communist government drove away many proprietors with the sole aim of expropriating them, but they are the legitimate owners who have the right to return to their property and it is certain that they will do so.

VIII. Property Required by the State for Public Needs

The state has decided to retain many properties for public needs in the shape of parks, and roads and new buildings. It must be said from the start that the state caused itself a great deal of trouble by permitting free and uncontrolled migration, and has itself suffered from the loss of vacant land destined for public use. It will be hard to recover this land today. The Central Property Commission indeed says, "at least we have no social conflicts," but what about in the future?

There are 1,797 owners whom the state has expropriated for public needs, who are waiting for a favorable opportunity to claim their legitimate property. They deserve to be heard. How can a legitimate owner be expropriated by order? There are laws in this world, and it is migrants building without permission who have caused the greatest confusion in the restitution of property.

The most recent instructions from the Council of Ministers call for intervention to solve this problem by 31 July. But we can already say that this is utterly impossible. The migrants who have erected buildings without permission (about 16,000 buildings including homes and shops are thought to have been built in Tirana alone) remain a major question.

There has recently been a count of municipalities such as Memaliaj, Polican, Puke, Corovode, Burrel, Roskovec, Fier, Peshkopi, and districts such as Elbasan, Has, Kucove, Kukes, Lezhe, Librazhd, Malesia e Madhe, Mirdite, Puke, and Tropoje that have been very backward in restoring property. The first reason for this lies in difficulties such as the absence of documents, the poor work of the commissions, etc. Nevertheless, these districts have as many problems as Tirana does as a city. According to the most recent instruction, those commissions with under 100 cases and which have not solved more than 50 percent of these will be wound up and their cases passed to the courts.

Another instruction obliges all owners of property to complete their files by 31 July, because many are lacking vital documents and the commissions are unable to make decisions. The restitution of property remains an Achilles heel.

PS Leader Explains Party Stand in Legislature

AU0507155695 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Jun 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Shaqir Vukaj, People's Assembly Presidency deputy chairman and Socialist Party Presidency member; place and date not given: "Votes of Socialists Today and in the Future"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] Could you say exactly how the Socialist Party [PS] has voted during the term of this legislature?

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[Vukaj] The information I shall give you comes from the minutes of the legislature. [passage omitted] According to them, from 7 April 1992, when the term of this legislature started, to 1 June 1995, 387 laws, decrees, and ratifications of agreements were passed and the SP legislative group voted against only 22 laws. That is the actual truth and if anyone doubts it, let them come to the legislative presidency and see for themselves. [passage omitted]

Both the Democratic Party [PD] and the PS are in favor of a market economy—frankly speaking, a capitalist economy. The legislature has approved about 130 laws on the market economy. We have voted for almost every law in unison with the PD. [passage omitted] The PS has also voted for the ratification of all the agreements, memoranda, and conventions between the Republic of Albania and other countries, or between Albania and international bodies. [passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] So have you voted in unison, then, with the PD group on all the economic laws?

[Vukaj] During the voting on several reform laws, the PS moved a little toward the center, while the PD moved a little to the left.

I told you that we have voted for all the most important laws. The three or four laws we voted against are not essential to the reform process. We voted against the Law on Personal Income Taxation because we are against the taxation of low-income people. We also voted against the Law on Pensions of Agricultural Cooperative Members. We explained clearly that under this law, pensions would remain very small, so we asked for increased pensions for thousands of cooperative members who have worked all their lives and have nothing left.

We are against the Law on Foundations [charities] because we believed that a law on sponsorships should be passed first to avoid abuses. [passage omitted]

We also asked the government to revise three or four laws, which is nothing compared with the scores of other laws for which the PD did the same.

I shall mention two or three occasions when we abstained from voting to show our basic position. Last April we abstained from voting on the Law on Issuing and Distributing Privatization Vouchers, although it is one of the most typical laws that coincides with our party program. [passage omitted] In Albania privatization is being carried out by boards on which police and SHIK [National Intelligence Service] members sit, so that people with no merit are profiting. It is only in Albania that workers are dismissed and get nothing from their factories and plants. For this common property to be distributed rightfully, we have repeated many times that a law on privatization has to be drafted as soon as possible. Now Albanians can see for themselves who is profiting from our common property.

Using the same reasoning, we also abstained from voting on the Law on Privatization Vouchers, and we asked the government to develop a strategy for privatizing whatever property remained unprivatized. We asked how this privatization would be carried out, what property is to be privatized, etc. That we were right in our reasoning has already been confirmed now, when the value of these vouchers has dropped to 15-20 percent of their nominal value set by the state. [passage omitted] We abstained from voting on the Law on Transforming State Enterprises to Trading Companies because we want the law to be more liberal, i.e., a capitalist-democratic law and not a communist-democratic one like the PD voted for.

As for the state budget, in the last three years we have voted both for and against it, and one year we abstained. [passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] At the meeting of the PD National Council, Berisha said: "They (the PS) have voted against the fundamental legislation on the rule of law and its main institutions, such as the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Council of Justice." What is the truth?

[Vukaj] It is not clear to me why they lie to the president. Why do they give him such information? Who is giving this kind of information to him? Why don't they come to the legislature and ask for accurate information? [passage omitted] We voted only against the Law on Reassessing the License to Practice Law because it resembled the legislation and decrees on exercising the class struggle.

[ZERI I POPULLIT] What is the PS's attitude to the human rights legislation that has been passed?

[Vukaj] [Passage omitted] In principle we have not been against it, as people have often speculated, but we were of the opinion that this legislation should have been submitted to the legislature as part of the constitution—as was promised, but never happened. So we abstained. In my opinion it is very good legislation and in the future it should become a separate chapter of the constitution. [passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] What is your attitude to former political prisoners and persecutees?

[Vukaj] We voted only against an amendment to the Law on the Innocence and Amnesty of Former Political Prisoners and Detenees because everyone was put on a par. The thief and criminal is a thief and criminal under

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every government. It is well known that the Sigurimi [security police], for its own ends, called the criminals and thieves polititians so that they could sentence them on these charges, too. [passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] What was the attitude of the PS toward laws that violate human rights?

[Vukaj] A few days after the term of this legislature began, the PD passed the infamous Article 24-1, and thousands of civil servants were dismissed. Through this act the PD destroyed the Albanian civil service and it will take years to build it up again. Parties come and go, but the civil service remains and continues its job. [passage omitted] As for the press law, we made our remarks on it and we presented our own draft law, which of course was not taken into consideration. I have nothing to add, because life itself and the opposition to it by journalists and associations proved we were right to vote against it. [passage omitted]

[ZERI I POPULLIT] It has been predicted that once you are in power you will change the fundamental laws. Which laws would you change?

[Vukaj] We must bear in mind that laws get "old" and that they need to keep up with the times. I am pretty sure that the next legislature will work hard not only on the new laws but also on updating the previous ones. [passage omitted]

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Demirel Speaks to Assembly About Cooperation

AU0507122895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] I came to tell you that Bulgarian-Turkish friendship now is especially important for both countries, the region, and Europe, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel said in his speech at the National Assembly.

He summarized the basic trends of world political life and presented the main principles of Turkish foreign policy.

Turkey has no territorial claims toward its neighbors and would not allow any claims directed at it. The goal is to prevent the spread of conflicts and wars, Mr. Demirel said.

He expressed hope that Bulgarian-Turkish cooperation in the struggle against terrorism will continue and that the Turks who are living in Bulgaria will become a bridge of friendship between the two peoples.

Mr. Demirel proposed to begin work immediately on a free trade agreement and open the trade borders as soon as possible.

President Demirel said that Turkey opposes dividing the Balkans into religious and ethnic axes.

Earlier today President Demirel met Nora Ananieva, deputy chairperson of the National Assembly. Bulgarian-Turkish interparliamentary relations are developing very well—this was noted by both Mr. Demirel and Mrs. Ananieva. This fact is a good basis for contacts at the level of parliamentary factions and parties, Mrs. Ananieva said.

According to Mr. Demirel, when a certain country's parliament functions properly, that country could resolve all of its problems. The people do not choose their neighbors, but, when there is goodwill, all of the problems remain in the past, while eyes are directed toward the present and the future.

At 0900, Turkish President Demirel had a meeting with representatives of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] Central Council and parliamentary faction, mayors from regions with mixed population, and intellectuals of Turkish origin.

Internal political issues were not discussed at that meeting, Ahmed Dogan, DPS leader, assured the journalists. Nevertheless, one should not ignore the fact that DPS representatives have expressed their concern to Mr. Demirel regarding the attempts to cause a split in the Chief Mufti Office. Ahmed Dogan described this process as an attempt to divide the Muslims in Bulgaria.

Otherwise, the key topic during that meeting was Turkish investments in Bulgaria.

According to Ahmed Dogan, opening the Bulgarian-Turkish border is a necessary gesture, which will show whether Bulgaria is sincere in its wish to Europeanize itself. He described as invention the claim that, by opening the border, the—I quote—giant Turkey wants to invade our country through its investments.

In one hour President Demirel will meet Prime Minister Videnov at the Boyana Residence.

Gives News Conference

AU0507153795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The official part of the visit of Turkish President Suleyman Demirel to Bulgaria ended on 5 July with a joint news conference with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev.

There are no obstacles to further improve relations between the two countries. This was the joint conclusion of both presidents. Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are developing well in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, but it is our wish to develop them even more, President Demirel said.

He again reaffirmed his country's readiness to support Bulgaria's candidacy for NATO membership, for which President Zhelev expressed his special gratitude and added that he hopes Turkey will also support Bulgaria's desire to become a full-fledged member of GATT and the World Trade Organization.

Bulgaria supports President Demirel's idea on establishing free trade between the two countries, President Zhelev said, and added that this does not contradict the spirit of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation and EU policy.

Editorial Stresses 'Economic, Strategic Interests'

AU0307132095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jun 95 p 7

[Unattributed editorial: "There Are No Free Lunches"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 29 June, Russia announced that it is giving Bulgaria military equipment worth $500 million. In addition to the T-72 tanks, the BMR armored car, and the Mi-24 superhelicopters, our country will receive military spare parts at very favorable conditions.

Those facts could have been registered and forgotten quickly if the scope of the move and the unaccustomed

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efficiency in relations with Russia, unprecedented until only a year or two ago, had not been so unusual.

The weapons in question are not obsolete MiG-21 fighters with which the Bundeswehr recently surprised the commander of our Air Force, but equipment that Russia is selling successfully throughout the world.

If one connects this fact to other facts and moves of our executive power and diplomacy, a tendency will emerge that, if prudence is applied, could become the dominating trend in asserting Bulgaria as a partner, respected in Europe and the world.

Chernomyrdin in Sofia, Videnov in Athens, Pirinski in Belgrade, Gechev in Moscow, Tsochev in Baghdad, Zhelev in Cannes, Inonu in Sofia, Demirel in Sofia... May some ministers and high-ranking official forgive us if we omit their visits to Sofia and abroad. This commotion, unprecedented until last year, produced—and we hope will continue to produce—specific results.

Suffice it to mention the agreements on constructing the Burgas—Alexandroupolis oil pipeline together with Russia and Greece, the Bulgarian-Russian gas company regardless of the unhealthy noise around this issue, and the cracks in the embargo ice in both the West and the southeast....

The skeptics and opponents could simply say that this is much ado about nothing, but the pragmatists could prove the poverty of such a claim by the power of the figures.

The thesis that the opening to the East is taking place at the expense of the opening to Europe also cannot be defended. The arguments of the proponents of the propaganda thesis regarding Bulgaria's membership in NATO collapsed noisily against this background. Yes, Bulgaria is conducting a policy of accelerated association with the EU and the Euro-Atlantic structures, but it does not forget its own natural economic and strategic interests in other geographic directions.

It would hardly be possible to make up for what has been missed in the last few years. There are areas in which our former economic positions have already been taken by our competitors. In places where not everything has been lost, however, we should try to make a breakthrough.

In this context, the unity of action in the international scene of the executive and legislative powers with the Presidency inspires the hope that relations between those institutions could be placed on a European, civilized basis. It appears that the time when the rich West endlessly used to teach us what to do is over. The foreign experience is very valuable, but not as valuable as ours.

However, there is a certain prerequisite. If we want to be accepted by both the West and the East, we must learn how to respect each other here in Bulgaria. We should think about how we could help each other, instead of slandering the motherland, as Vasil Gotsev did recently.

Then, when we get a free lunch from someone, we will know that we deserve it.

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Parliamentary Delegation Travels to Israel

AU0607131595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 4 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by Pavol Majesky: "During I. Gasparovic's Visit to Israel, Y. Rabin Praised the Slovak Republic's Policy Toward Jews"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jerusalem—Ivan Gasparovic, National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] chairman, yesterday morning met with Yitzhaq Rabin, the prime minister of the State of Israel. Thus began the historic first visit to Israel by the Slovak Republic's most senior constitutional [as published] official. Rabin commented that relations between his country and the Slovak Republic are very good and that proper cooperation can therefore be forged between them.

The Israeli prime minister briefed the Slovak parliamentary delegation, which also includes deputies Miroslav Maxon, Alena Kolesarova, Jozef Pribilinec, and Jaroslav Paska, on the current domestic political situation. He emphasized that Israeli policy is based on four fundamental axioms: peace, security, the social nature of the system, and developing commercial contacts. Gasparovic agreed with his host that it would be possible to sign agreements and treaties between Slovakia and Israel speedily—for example, on preventing double taxation and in the sphere of education and science. In their conversation, they also touched on issues from the past, when the Czechoslovak Republic, according to Rabin, helped establish the State of Israel, but, unfortunately, because of the Republic's postwar orientation, relations with Israel were placed on hold for decades.

Rabin praised the fact that present-day Slovakia has distanced itself from all of the negative events of the past and has apologized to the Jewish nation for the suffering its people endured in our country during World War II. He emphasized that property has been returned to the Jewish religious communities, that a Menorah has been placed in Kremnicka, and that there are plans to erect a memorial in Bratislava to the victims of the Holocaust. The NRSR chairman assured the Israeli prime minister that our country, with regard to resolving the problems in the Middle East, fully respects the resolutions passed by the UN Security Council.

The NRSR delegation, led by Gasparovic, was also received by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. After the introductions, he said that he admired all that the Slovak Government and parliament had done since 1989 for the Jewish community in Slovakia. Possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation and the situation in the Middle East and Central Europe were also discussed at the meeting.

Gasparovic, on behalf of the Slovak Republic, paid homage to the victims of World War II by laying a wreath with a garland in the colors of the Slovak flag beside the eternal flame in the Yad Vashen Museum. In the afternoon, Gasparovic met for the first time with the most senior officials of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset.

SDL's Weiss Discusses Relations With HZDS

AU0407160295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Jun 95 p 3

[Interview with SDL Chairman Peter Weiss by Julius Gembicky; place and date not given: "Peter Weiss: The SDL Does Not Bargain With Constitutional Principles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—On the morning of 23 June, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] leadership, headed by Peter Weiss, met with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] delegation, headed by its leader, Vladimir Meciar. NARODNA OBRODA discussed with Chairman Weiss the subject of their two-and-one-half-hour talks.

[Gembicky] The SDL Executive Committee authorized you to discuss everything with the HZDS except two topics: joining the government coalition and any SDL participation in exerting pressure for the president to resign. Did anything new emerge in the talks between the HZDS and the SDL? Did your partners in the talks have something better to offer than in the past, or perhaps even some surprising proposals?

[Weiss] It took the HZDS three months to respond to the invitation that we sent to all of the parliamentary parties after our congress in Poprad. It was a consultative meeting that demonstrated the difference in the political style between the HZDS and the SDL. The HZDS assesses all of its steps very favorably and, therefore, does not intend to make any fundamental changes in its policies. It does not intend to change the method of government even in those instances that the SDL considers unacceptable. From this point of view, the statement by HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar that the door to the coalition remains open for the SDL even after the talks has no real significance for the SDL. The stand of the SDL Republic Council is well known, and, therefore, it cannot be expected that the SDL will silently endorse everything that happened here since November 1994 and join this government politics. Despite these differences in opinion being confirmed, I consider that the meeting was useful. It is necessary in politics to be able to sit down at the negotiating table and not convey one's stands and exceptions through the media. The last, but not least, reason is that there are long-term national-state interests, common interests

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in improving the economic and social situation and creating conditions for the introduction of changes in the territorial administrative arrangement only on the basis of a general agreement. And, finally, we should support all measures that expedite our integration into the EU and the Euro-Atlantic security structures.

[Gembicky] What answer did you receive from the other two government parties—the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]?

[Weiss] Luptak's ZRS refuses to meet with us. The chairman has frequently reiterated that he has nothing to talk about with us. We believe the opposite because the living situation of the workers as I know it from meetings—for instance, in the eastern Slovak region a few days ago—is so alarming that we could at least hold talks on this subject. The SNS chairman sent us a letter in which he refused to meet with us because of a single sentence in the conclusion of my speech at the 3d Congress, in which I used a metaphor to the effect that swallows leave in the fall and return in the spring. Mr. Slota somehow—I do not know why—deduced from this that we intend to return to the government next spring. It is futile to comment on this, but at least our relations have been clarified because we know now that the SNS is not interested in talks with us. We acknowledge this. We are planning to gradually meet with all three parties of the Hungarian coalition.

[Gembicky] Before your talks, there was a lot of speculation in political lobbies regarding the verbal offer on the part of the HZDS for you to join the coalition in exchange for the recall of the president and, possibly, for an agreement on a joint candidate for this post....

[Weiss] These and similar speculation do not have any real basis. This has never been mentioned. Moreover, if there actually were such an absurd offer, the answer would be simple. The SDL does not bargain on constitutional principles.

[Gembicky] Is the door to future cooperation between the SDL and the HZDS still at least partially open after the Friday meeting? If so, how, in what form, and on what level?

[Weiss] The postcongress political line of the SDL is clear: We oppose the tendencies oriented toward an authoritative regime. Therefore, we are going to act like an opposition party in parliament, in which the government coalition has a comfortable majority. The government also has the ministerial expert apparatus at its disposal in the government and information from the talks with the Association of Employers Unions, the Chamber of Trade and Industry, and the trade unions. Therefore, it has a clear intellectual and information advantage over the opposition parties. Therefore, I do not believe that the role of the opposition is to represent the sources that are available to the government power. We see our role in serious opposition to the government bills and the tabling of our own ideas regarding the solution to the economic and social situation in Slovakia. Of course, there is always an opportunity on the parliament floor to discuss drafting a law. We reached agreement with the HZDS that a meeting will be held on the amendment to the law on large-scale privatization because the SDL is also drafting such an amendment. We would like to enshrine in it a privatization priority for an employees' stockholding company.

[Gembicky] When the SDL speaks of cooperation with the HZDS in drafting some laws or amendments, does it not in fact endorse the policy of the government coalition that, otherwise, you criticize so vehemently?

[Weiss] I myself have never said anything like that. Nevertheless, I admit without blushing that we cooperated with the leading government movement in drafting the law on conflict of interest. There was a simple reason—because, from the very beginning, we have pushed for the concept of constitutional law. Because the distribution of powers in the parliament is fixed by elections, such a law could not have been passed without consultations and cooperation with the HZDS, which has 61 deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. I do not believe, however, that this means an endorsement of the things in the HZDS policy that we criticize openly. In any event, we do not see any reason to practice a fundamentally negative policy just because it is the government that submits the bill. We did not do the same thing as the HZDS, when Mr. Kozlik, for instance, refused to vote on a motion by Deputy Langos—although it was reasonable—solely because he was the proposer. Therefore we supported Langos.

[Gembicky] How would you explain the recent unusually accommodating attitude on the part of Vladimir Meciar, when he set in motion bilateral talks with the opposition parties?

[Weiss] I would like to believe that it is not just a tactical maneuver to distract attention from the privatization approach that could be called the distribution of national property among his political nearest and dearest. I would like to believe that it is a result of the recognition that, being in constant political confrontation with the president, the opposition parties, and representatives of the Hungarian minority is not a policy with a future. I would be glad if it were also an expression of a statesmanlike responsibility for the fate of this country. When we travel abroad, we act as champions of

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Slovakia by pointing out our great economic and human potential.

We lobby for the admission of Slovakia into the EU in the first group. Nevertheless, we, too, encounter the reproaches addressed to the government coalition about the unusual and undemocratic methods of government in this country, which are described as a hindrance to the admission of Slovakia to the club of EU countries. Foreign partners always point out to us that the preamble and other passages of the Association Agreement contain not only the economic, but also the political conditions for joining the EU. If the government does not change its conduct, it will not be able to fulfill its policy statement. So, I would like to believe that the change in the political conduct of the HZDS, the return to political dialogue, will be of a lasting character.

Opinion Poll Places HZDS First, With 27.4%

AU0307112095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jun 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "For Which Party or Movement Would You Vote?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The FOCUS Agency conducted an opinion poll from 3 to 15 June 1995 involving 995 respondents. It asked the following question:

Imagine that parliamentary elections were to be held this weekend. For which party or movement would you vote?

	Percent
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]	27.4
No one	20.3
Do not know	12.2
Democratic Union	11.5
Christian Democratic Movement	10.0
Party of the Democratic Left	8.9
Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	5.5
Democratic Party	5.4
Slovak National Party	5.4
Green Party in Slovakia	4.0
Egyutteles	3.9
Association of Workers of Slovakia	3.4
Communist Party of Slovakia	2.4
New Slovakia	2.1
Party Against Corruption	1.9
Hungarian Civic Party	1.8
Social Democratic Party of Slovakia	1.8
Others	4.6

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Party Protests Language Laws in Slovakia, Romania

LD0507211095 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak and Romanian education laws are unacceptable in their present form for the World Federation of Hungarians [MVSZ], according to Laszlo Dobos at the federation's press briefing today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The recently adopted language laws strengthen the assimilation of ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia and Transylvania, because they only offer education in the mother tongue as an alternative. The MVSZ is organizing a protest rally in the Debrecen Reformist Great Church for 27 July. All people from any part of the Carpathina basin will be welcome who agree with their stance.

[Dobos] I expect the meeting to be a unanimous and clear protest against violence against the mother tongue beyond the border.

[Correspondent] The MVSZ wants to submit a proposal to Hungarian parliament to adopt a bill on the protection of the Hungarian national language beyond the border. Similar laws have already been passed in Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia. Laszlo Dobos thinks that a new language war is in the offing.

[Dobos] This cannot be brushed aside by saying: We will manage to survive. This is not a question of survival any more. This is tantamount to the preplanned destruction of a community. We cannot look on with folded arms and especially not without saying something. [end recording]

Officials Comment on Secret Service Allegations

LD0307223495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Soon after taking office, Istvan Nikolits, minister without portfolio for overseeing the secret services, said that there has been a number of objectionable cases in the activity of the National Security Office in the past five years that may infer political consequences. After taking office in March, the minister ordered a review of the cases of security surveillance conducted earlier.

A four-member parliamentary committee was also set up, which established that irregularities were committed in hundreds of cases. They can be explained, however, by the lack of a full legal background. The four deputies submitted two draft resolutions to the National Security Committee. They proposed it should be established whether the former ministers held political responsibility in the matter.

They were also pressing for the drafting of a national security bill as soon as possible, and for freezing the documents scrutinized in the previous investigations. The call for the establishment of any political responsibility was rejected, but the so-called technical proposals were accepted by the National Security Committee.

Attila Kert's report investigates the background of the obscure case and the reasons for the political vacillation.

[Begin recording] [Kert] Ferenc Koszeg, deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats and member of the National Security Committee, is here with me. What do you know for sure as member of the committee? Was there any irregularity?

[Koszeg] We have investigated the so-called security surveillance cases. The current law gives authorization for surveillance for protection purposes of persons on confidential and important posts with their knowledge.

A general irregularity was that the people under surveillance were not notified at least about the fact that they were under surveillance as stipulated by the law.

Also, people were under surveillance who did not hold such posts and there was no intention to appoint them to such posts.

[Kert] Who are they specifically?

[Koszeg] People from the field of economy, that is businessmen, entrepreneurs, also journalists and politicians. It cannot be seen, or at least I cannot find out, what the motivation was. In some cases it can almost be put down to a favor between colleagues. For example, a minister would ask the minister overseeing the National Security Office to place under surveillance his business partner with whom he had a legal dispute.

A further irregularity is that in the majority of the surveillance cases the purpose was not specified.

[Kert] The National Security Committee rejected the proposal to establish the political responsibility of those overseeing the secret services.

[Koszeg] Two such former ministers are on the committee. They voted against the proposal in line with their position. As is known from the press, Attila Antaloczy, a Socialist deputy, voted with the opposition.

[Kert] Can we consider the case closed after all this? Can those who are worrying about having been under surveillance unlawfully do anything, or will they never know whether they were under the surveillance of any

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secret service, or more specifically, whether data has been collected on them?

[Koszeg] This is a difficult question since those concerned cannot find out about this. The members of the committee are under the obligation of secrecy. [passage omitted]

[Kert] Peter Boross, chairman of the National Security Committee. [passage omitted] Ferenc Koszeg said he saw in the documents that data were collected on people about whom there was no need to gather data. [passage omitted]

[Boross] With his vote Ferenc Koszeg accepted that there was no law infringement. [passage omitted] A minister bears political responsibility toward his government and the parliament that elected him. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, the knowledge of the legal provisions is at a very low level in this whole matter, and this lies in the background and, of course, some desperate intention. The gentlemen are in need of more calmness to be able to give objective consideration to the matter.

[Kert] By virtue of the posts you held in the previous parliamentary cycle you can presumably reassure everybody that things were in order and nothing happened that could worry anyone.

[Boross] Nobody has anything to worry about. This is what matters. [passage omitted] The matter has a very strange aspect to it. Who are those who are coming up against us with their demands? Sometimes one feels like laughing after the 40 years like we had under communism.

[Kert] What do you have to say about the fact that the coalition's proposal was outvoted by the vote of a Socialist deputy, Attila Antaloczy?

[Boross] I am ashamed on behalf of the committee that this has been disclosed at all. I would not comment on a thing like this. It was a closed meeting. [passage omitted]

[Kert] Attila Antaloczy, Hungarian Socialist Party deputy. It was you, whose vote decided the content of the resolution passed by the National Security Committee. Why did you decide to vote against the government parties' draft resolution.

[Antaloczy] I have said on several occasions that a parliamentary committee should not be engaged in passing moral judgements—this will be done by the electors. Our task is to guard constitutionality. We have done this, and by completing our task we also submitted a recommendation to the minister in charge and the government. By this recommendation we have tried to help to make the secret services' operation less ambiguous even before the new law is passed.

[Kert] The fact, that you had to prepare this recommendation, indicates that not everything went in the best order. What was the motivation behind your vote? Was it the fact that there have been surveillance cases evading the law, or the often mentioned principle that we should rather leave these services alone to do their job, because a permanent press debate disrupts their life?

[Antaloczy] There has been no violation of the law. The law, which regulates the operation of these services and that was passed with provisional effect, makes irregularities and unregulated acts possible in a lot of cases. This does not mean that these organizations have served various party political interests or private interests over the past four years. I am convinced that these organizations have conducted a professional work in an unbiased manner.

However, there is a need for a law that will precisely regulate the procedures.

[Kert] Ferenc Koszeg, who is also a parliamentary deputy from a government coalition party, says that, as a result of the lack of regulations, there have been cases that can be questioned and in about 15-20 percent of the cases the violation of law can also be suspected.

[Antaloczy] This is the private opinion of Ferenc Koszeg, I am not entitled to comment on it.

[Kert] It means that you can reassure everybody, including politicians, businessmen or perhaps journalists, who have been mentioned in these statements that there has been no unlawful surveillance, and there are no data about them in any kind of files gathered by secret service methods.

[Antaloczy] I think, the question is not whether somebody was subject to surveillance or not. The question is always who are those who ordered the surveillance act and how they use these files. As far as I know, there has been no precedent for the use of data gathered by security surveillance against anybody, or for serious atrocities [as heard] against anybody in this matter.

[Kert] But the mere acquisition of data might also violate the law.

[Antaloczy] I have already said that according to the relevant law, there has been no violation of law. [passage omitted]

[Kert] Istvan Nikolits, minister without portfolio supervising the civilian secret services. Mr. Minister, a rather strange situation has evolved here. Two weeks after taking office you made a statement, in which you revealed

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serious irregularities in the operation of civilian secret services. Now the National Security Committee did not approve the government parties' draft resolution that would have established the violation of law or irregularities.

[Nikolits] Let me start by saying that I have not mentioned any violation of law. I only reported on irregularities and perhaps certain conduct that violates the law. I continue to maintain this statement, adding that I have to accept the committee's position. The 797 cases I mentioned violated certain paragraphs of the existing—though unsatisfactory—legal regulation. I invariably maintain this statement.

Regarding the lack of the establishment of political responsibility, I am of the view that the two deputies who participated in this voting should have—at least—abstained or should not have participated at all in the voting, because they were my predecessors under the previous government, therefore, their personal involvement in the matter can also be raised.

The only positive outcome of this matter is that the committee did not leave this practice—that has prevailed for years—untouched, and regulated the procedures. This is recommended to be followed in security surveillance until the new law is passed. By passing these recommendations, after all, the committee has confirmed my conclusions regarding the surveillance over the previous period.

[Kert] Mr. Minister, can I be sure now that I have not been subject to surveillance sometime over the past five years?

[Nikolits] I do not know who can and who cannot be sure about it, for it has been agreed that data will only be made public with a mutual consent. Following the investigation the committee took a position that until the new law is passed, all data should be kept secret.

However, you can be certain about one thing, that today and as long as I am in this seat, these services will not order and carry out surveillance that will unlawfully insult any citizen.

[Kert] Unfortunately, all this is not really reassuring for those businessmen, for example, who suspect that they have been subject to surveillance over the past few years. Normally, in a legal state, they could turn to a court to establish that the surveillance was unlawful, but now they do not, and cannot, have any evidence of this.

[Nikolits] The opportunity for this will, sooner or later, come and they will have the opportunity to turn to court. The National Assembly is obliged to amend certain parts of the so-called agent law [law on secret services], because the Constitutional Court has declared them null and void. In the course of this amendment procedure, parliament has to take a position regarding the protection of personal data and the right to access to personal data. This means that everybody concerned will be able to get access to their personal data available at these services and in other archives. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Poll Shows Smallholders as Popular as Socialists

AU0407084095 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Jul 95 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "The Smallholders Have Caught Up With the Socialists on the Parties' Popularity List"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the first time since November 1993 the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has to share first place in the popularity rankings with the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP]: In June 1995, the popularity of the FKGP was the same as that of the MSZP. All this transpires from the latest opinion poll carried out by the Szonda Ipsos Opinion Poll Research Institute.

More than one year has passed since the latest parliamentary elections. In the course of this year, the popularity of three parties has changed considerably, namely that of the two coalition parties and of the FKGP. The coalition parties were on top in the summer of 1994; since then, however, they have lost popularity to a certain extent. The camp of both MSZP and Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] supporters dropped to about half: Some 32 percent of the people supported the MSZP in June 1994; now this figure has dropped to 15 percent. The SZDSZ supporters dropped from 19 percent in June 1994 to 10 percent in June 1995. As for the FKGP, their supporters grew from 6 percent to 15 percent. The FKGP achieved great success already last month, because it reached second place on the popularity list. Now, it can boast an even greater achievement: The additional 3 percent increase in its popularity put the party in the leading position, together with the MSZP. This achievement is noteworthy, all the more so because the FKGP has never been so popular since its return in 1988-89.

An equal proportion of people who choose a party at all support the MSZP and the FKGP: 24 percent. However, among the people who say they would definitely participate in elections today, the MSZP is still well ahead of the FKGP: 29 percent versus 22 percent. Besides, these two parties continue to divide the public, because these parties lead both in sympathy and antipathy. It is true, however, that they do not share first place in this: Some 22 percent of the people said

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they would not vote in favor of the MSZP at all, and only 12 percent of the people said the same about the FKGP.

The MSZP mainly lost the support of social strata that the FKGP succeeded in winning over. The Socialists' strength dropped mainly among people with a lower education, trained workers, middle-aged people, and village inhabitants, and the strength of the FKGP continued to increase precisely among these strata. However, the "shifting" from the MSZP to the FKGP does not seem to take place overnight, in a direct way.

Expert Assesses Long-Term Economic Concepts

AU0607092895 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jul 95 p 12

[Interview with Andras Vertes, chairman and general director of the Economic Research Corporation, by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Preventing Falling Behind Is at Stake for Our Future—According to Andras Vertes, Radical Modernization Does Not Clash With Representing Social Democratic Values"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Instead of empty promises and illusions, only one realistic image of the future can be outlined for the coming 10 to 15 years: With very hard work, for which we have only ourselves to rely on, we might manage to prevent the difference in level between our own development and that of the European Union from increasing. In other words, what is at stake is the prevention of further falling behind and becoming marginal, rather than catching up. This is indicated by the expert material drafted for the Hungarian Socialist Party's National Committee by Andras Vertes, chairman and general director of the Economic Research Corporation. The discussion material assesses the possible ways of Hungarian modernization on the basis of social democratic values. I asked Vertes to compare this concept with the government's and the Finance Ministry's emerging long-term concepts.

[Bossanyi] As many as three kinds of modernization concepts are being formed in the various economic policy workshops. Why does such a big demand exist for longer-term concepts in political expert circles? It can certainly be seen that the room for maneuver is rather limited in the short term.

[Vertes] With some sarcasm, I could even say that as it is difficult to assess the near future, we prefer to deal with prognoses for 10 to 15 years. The truth of the matter is that those who shape economic policy have received much—and justified—criticism because no overall strategy exists beyond the daily practice. It was also said in connection with the stabilization program that fair enough, it is unavoidable, but where does it lead, what are the prospects....

[Bossanyi] In other words, what is the future image?

[Vertes] Precisely. Reproach for the lack of a future image has recently been one of the most frequently used political and rhetorical methods. Although analytical work was also done in the past, it has now become professionally better founded and more comprehensive. A number of workshops are working at the same time: This is useful because it provides an opportunity for exchanges of views and debates on the essence of the matter.

Does an Image of the Future Exist?

[Bossanyi] In the past two months, we have heard two extreme views regarding the image of the future. According to one, the future image is that we will not go bankrupt, and people's attention should not be diverted by various rose-tinted promises from the immediate stabilization measures. According to the other, society can only be won over by the current necessary steps if outlined to them where Hungary is going, and where it may go. What are your views in this debate?

[Vertes] This is a real dilemma. My view is—and I made it clear in the debate on all three modernization concepts—that it is necessary to draw up a long-term image of the future that is realistic and does not clash too much with the current experiences. However, I would consider it very dangerous if, under the pretext of the modernization concept, a mass of political promises were made claiming that our establishment in Europe will go without a hitch, and all our problems can be solved including education, welfare policy, and environmental protection, it is only a matter of time.

[Bossanyi] However, the 15-year concept drawn up on the level of wishes and desires could even promise this because its content cannot be verified. At the same time, today's politicians can collect good marks in helping to reduce the current tensions.

[Vertes] This is not so. Today, people cannot be deceived by nice slogans. However, it is also important for the interest representing groups, various entrepreneurial groups, and the parties for a concrete and credible concept to emerge on the economic policy strategy of the coming years and decades because, otherwise, it is impossible to agree even in the short or the medium term. If a relative consensus cannot be found in society for the current stabilization measures, then this will question the future. Precisely this is the reason it is pointless to threaten society with state bankruptcy because, thank God, there is no acute danger. People have to be made

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to understand that bankruptcy can come if we do not stabilize, do not reduce the deficit, and do not change state administration. However, this also means that stabilization is done in the interest of modernization.

[Bossanyi] What is modernization? Does it now mean catching up with the EU? Or is it some kind of change in the historical, philosophical, and value systems: progress, development, and civic transformation?

[Vertes] This is a synthetic notion with many different elements. Civic transformation is possible along many kinds of economic policy. It already existed in the Kadar regime. Perhaps, we should be thinking in terms of the contrast of catching up and lagging behind, and see to what extent the middle classes can—in the long run—become integrated both socially and economically. This is part of the social democratic, as well as the Christian democratic and liberal value systems. In addition to the freedom of the individual, it is also very important for their cooperation to be a kind of partnership. This means that they should try to achieve their "civic transformation" using the principle of "live and let live" and also by giving certain advantages to each other, rather than by treading on and suppressing the other.

[Bossanyi] What dilemmas of modernization are we facing?

[Vertes] In the material for the National Committee, we said that we are struggling with three kinds of crisis at this moment. One is the modernization crisis that has existed for at least 25 years. In simple terms: The oil crisis made it clear that the road of economic development that we followed was a dead-end. We started to lag behind the main line of European and world development from this point onward. It follows from this that, for the future, we must also think in terms of many decades, rather than only in three or five-year plans.

The transformation crisis is the other: This is part of the transition from the planned economy to the market economy and, in my view, we have already done most of this. The third is the cyclical crisis, which is a natural part of market economies. The joint presence of the three crisis factors causes the real shock, which can most clearly be seen in the current account deficit. The significant state administration deficit also comes from this. Therefore, it is essential that this be stabilized. All strategies of catching up are only delusions without this.

Opposites

[Bossanyi] Thinking about the opposites of lagging behind and catching up, what are our chances?

[Vertes] All assessments prove that Hungary has no real chance of catching up within 10 years. In 10 to 15 years, we only have a realistic chance of developing a little faster than the average European country—not immediately now but within this time frame.

[Bossanyi] Do you mean that the distance would not increase?

[Vertes] A reduction of the distance will hardly be noticeable in 10 to 15 years, the prognoses say that a generation will be needed for real change. For us, the key issue is not to increase the distance.

[Bossanyi] However, to begin the "countdown," we must first establish the starting point and the ensuing short and medium-term room for maneuver.

[Vertes] Unfortunately, we must start from the point that Hungary's relative political significance in the world has ceased to exist. This comes from losing the role of "the most cheerful barracks," and no such world political force or world economic group exists today that would be interested in our catching up. We do not have any powerful friends, with all the positive and negative consequences of such a friendship. This is an important starting point because we must not cherish the hope that we will be assisted. The other starting point is determined by the world economy. It is visible that, of the three major economic areas, the East Asian countries will develop fastest, followed by the United States and its sphere of interest; Europe is only third. Despite this fact, Hungary has a realistic chance of getting on the European train while, of course, it also has to remain open in other directions. It can also be seen that Germany will get over its unification problems by the turn of the century, and accelerate; we can—if we can—attach ourselves to this sphere of interest.

[Bossanyi] This is the foreign course of pressure. What about the domestic one?

[Vertes] This includes the already mentioned "help yourself and then...." and overcoming the three kinds of crisis. Of these, I consider the modernization challenge to be the most powerful. The only way we can meet this is through the inflow of a significant amount of working capital. However, to achieve this, we need very large amounts of domestic savings and funds. It follows from this that in the current, stabilization phase of modernization, however unpopular this is, demand has to be curbed a little, and investments have to be made even at the cost of reduced living standards to make production and the export structure more competitive, which in turn can facilitate economic growth.

[Bossanyi] Is there any difference in these key issues among the three modernization programs?

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[Vertes] There are slight differences. The governmental material is perhaps a little more optimistic than the National Committee's material in assessing the world economic situation. However, this might come from the fact that a government always has to "sell itself" to foreign countries. The third—being drawn up by the Finance Ministry—concentrates rather on stabilization and assigns a big role to transforming the state administration.

[Bossanyi] Everyone starts from stabilization, the only question is whether it is considered to be a package or a series of radical steps.

[Vertes] This is debatable. In my view, at the end of this year, and next year, it would be worthwhile concentrating all energies on reducing inflation. I see stabilization as a process also as regards the state administration's deficit. The problem of the state administration's deficit and the state debt cannot be solved overnight. For example, I do not believe in very quickly changing the proportion of state administration and the GDP, and I am partly in disagreement with the financial government's goals on this point. The social cost is too high while the macroeconomic benefits are relatively small.

[Bossanyi] Can the conflict of stabilization—meaning restriction—and growth be resolved?

[Vertes] This is the art of economic policy. Quite honestly, the long-term assessments start from the assumption that no significant economic growth can be expected in 1995 and 1996. From 1998, we are predicting a 4 to 5 percent annual growth.

[Bossanyi] Is this a desire or are there calculations to support it?

[Vertes] Our prognoses are based on very thorough calculations. However, for this growth to come about, very many things will still have to change in the Hungarian economy. Many of the debates can be related precisely to this. It is the three-year strategy's task to clarify these.

[Bossanyi] How do the modernization provisions calculate with the problem of the state administration's deficit and the foreign debt?

[Vertes] None of them figure with significant further foreign indebtedness, which does not, of course, apply to 1995 or perhaps 1996. We expect the current account deficit to equal the incoming working capital as an average of 10 to 15 years. An annual $1 billion capital inflow can be achieved through privatizations in the coming years, and the multinational companies operating here will also increase their loans. For this reason, it is not certain that we must go below the annual $2 billion payment balance deficit. We will be able to look upon the deficit as a modernization deficit when, in a changing structure, it finances the economy's and society's development, rather than consumption.

[Bossanyi] Is the other launching point the state's withdrawal and the rechanneling of the released resources to developing the business sector?

[Vertes] This is the most important political—not only economic—question of the coming one or two years: How is it possible to work this out in a professionally correct and socially acceptable way. This is the really big issue. At the moment, people feel that much money is being spent on the welfare systems but that they are operating very badly. At the same time, their transformation attracts very many conflicts. Nevertheless, it has to be done, all modernization concepts hold the same view on this.

[Bossanyi] Is it so, while it depends precisely on these changes to what extent the economy remains—or will become?!—a social market economy?

[Vertes] It is not certain that society's total welfare spending will be reduced, however, it is certain that the roles of the state, enterprises, and individuals will be rearranged. The previously existing welfare benefits cannot all be kept. It is not at all certain that this distribution was good. The principle of willingness has to be given strong preference, which does not exclude society's solidarity with the most needy. We must try to prevent long-term losers—because such people will, unfortunately, exist—from falling through the welfare protection net.

Internal Struggle

[Bossanyi] In light of the modernization programs that are being drawn up, do you find the way society is informed about what to expect in the short, medium, and long run sufficient?

[Vertes] Both the government's and the national committee's materials talk honestly about the road we are facing and do not create illusions. In addition to this, they outline two opposing concepts. One is an image of the future in which we keep delaying the decisions because we get frightened of the political effects of the 12 March package. It would follow from this that the small chance of catching up already indicated does not exist even in 10 to 15 years, it is put off to a later date. Another version describes lasting stagnation, which would mean becoming more distant from Europe in all respects. This is the biggest danger.

[Bossanyi] Indicating social democracy's internal struggle, the alternatives also contain a dilemma: Should we

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enter into a tough course of creating order, which involves social pains but also includes the chance of catching up, or should we be in favor of a more cushioned, socially softer and, at the same time, more prolonged transformation?

[Vertes] This is a continuing dilemma. However, as for the essence of the matter, the expert team came to the conclusion that it is the representation of European progress that should be maintained from among the social democratic traditions. For this reason, it also has to be accepted that, at the moment, the pressing need for transformation and catching up does not favor soft solutions, regardless of what kind of government is in power. Therefore, in the process of putting the country on a modernization course, it is a historic duty and responsibility of the two parties currently in power to come up with a long-term concept with which the next and—resulting from the nature of political rotation—possibly different coalition government can also identify.

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Izetbegovic Accepts Minimum Humanitarian Consensus

AU0507200695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today sent a letter to Cornelio Samaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which states:

Mr. President, I received your letter of 16 June in which you express your concern for the suffering of civilians in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and propose a minimum of humanitarian consensus, as you called it.

You must surely know that we embraced the Contact Group plan, and the Serbs rejected it, causing the war to continue. Also, we are not stopping the passage of humanitarian convoys; the other side is doing this, and so forth.

The end of the war is evidently not possible without a political solution; however, the end of a dirty war [words indistinct]. We are willing to sign at any time an agreement that would ban the shelling of civilian targets and [word indistinct] of food and water [words indistinct]. Also, we are willing to assume full obligation to secure free passage for humanitarian convoys and normalization of the supply of electricity and gas throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We will support any of your initiatives in the above matters, including international control to implement the agreement.

Sincerely, signed Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Government To Renew Aid Plea After Hunger Deaths

AU0507165195 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 5 (AFP)—Thirteen civilians died of hunger in the past week in the government-held Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, the Bosnian Embassy in Zagreb announced Wednesday.

Last week the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said for the first time in the 38-month-old Bosnian conflict that a child of three and an elderly person had died of malnutrition in the Bihac enclave in northwestern Bosnia.

In what seemed to be a bitter reproach to the international community, the Embassy said that UNHCR "refused at the end of May to parachute supplies into Bihac because of Serb anti-aircraft systems which it said was a danger to its planes."

It said the Bosnian Government would repeat a demand for humanitarian aid to be dropped over Bihac, "while no-one knows when the (Serb) aggressor will allow a humanitarian convoy into Srebrenica."

Some 200,000 mainly Moslem civilians live in the Bihac pocket which has been surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces for three years. Srebrenica has a population of around 44,000.

The embassy said 1,150 metric tons of aid—51 grams per person per day—had got into Bihac in the first five months of the year, but in June that dropped to just 25 grammes per person per day.

The enclaves are two of the six pockets declared UN safe zones. The others are Gorazde, the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo—whose airport has been closed since April 9 because of Serb threats—Tuzla and Zepa.

"If convoys don't start arriving in Sarajevo, Zepa and Gorazde soon, there will be other people dying of starvation," the Embassy warned.

Army Reports on Situation Around Sarajevo

AU0507190995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Firm and efficient defense of the newly accomplished lines of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units and the aggressor's futile attempts to reconquer the positions lost are the characteristics of the current situation on all fronts around Sarajevo, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports.

On the (?Runjevica-Ostruzje) route in the vicinity of Trnovo, the soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army repelled several enemy attacks by Karadzic's terrorist. On Treskavica Plateau, they stopped and routed the enemy attacks with their firm defense. On Semizovac and [words indistinct] front, the aggressor tried to send his units in an attack [words indistinct] in vain.

In response to the enemy's infantry attacks, our soldiers on the Sarajevo battlefield in the area of (?Stup) accomplished new successes, inflicting considerable losses in manpower on the aggressor.

With the goal of killing civilians, Karadzic's terrorists continued artillery attacks on [word indistinct] of Sarajevo, Visoko, Breza, Olovo, Tarcin, Pazaric, Hrasnica, and on all Sarajevo outskirts. In the attacks, the aggressor, beside artillery, also used tanks and multiple rocket launchers.

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It is necessary to continue exercising [word indistinct] civilian defense (?in order to protect themselves more effectively) from [word indistinct] attacks by the aggressor.

Supplies of military hardware and manpower continue to come from Serbia across the state border of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [words indistinct] Karadzic's Chetniks. Helicopter overflights from Montenegro over the eastern parts of the temporarily occupied territories of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and from Serbia over the Romania Plateau have intensified, the Army Press Center reports.

Croatian Delegation To Sign Sarajevo Statement

AU0507130095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian Assembly delegation that arrived in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday will today—at a joint convention with the Bosnia-Herzegovina political parties—sign the Sarajevo Statement, which should determine the basic principles on the inviolability, and the need to preserve the internationally recognized borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The representatives of six parliamentary parties of the Republic of Croatia—the Croatian Social Liberal Party, the Party of Democratic Change of Croatia, the Croatian People's Democrats, the Croatian People's Party, the Action of Social Democrats of Croatia, and the Croatian Peasants' Party—will be received by the representatives of the highest level state institutions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A joint news conference is also planned by the Croatian Assembly delegation, and the representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zubak Meets With Rapid Reaction Force General

LD0507133895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Only when we receive an answer to the question of the true purpose of the Rapid Reaction Force and its task and deployment will we be able to talk about the deployment of some of the logistical forces who are staying in Ploce at the moment, so they can come to the Tomislavgrad area, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, says. He was speaking after a meeting with General Soubirou, commander of the international brigade of the UN Rapid Reaction Force, and his aides.

Gen. Soubirou told Zubak that the Rapid Reaction Force will be stationed in temporary locations. Later on the forces will be deployed in other areas. The reason why these forces have arrived in an area where there is no warfare is so that they may familiarize themselves with the local environment and the possibilities of supporting UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] if need be, Soubirou said.

UN Plan To Force Sarajevo Corridor Denied

LD0507163595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 5 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for the former Yugoslavia Christopher Gunnes said here Wednesday that there was no plan to open the land corridor to Sarajevo by force by the end of the week.

Commenting at a news conference the statement of French Army Chief Jacques Lanxade that the road to Sarajevo would be opened by force if necessary, Gunnes said such a decision could be taken only by the United Nations and not by individual countries.

The spokesman confirmed that work was under way at the UNPROFOR Headquarters in Zagreb on a plan for the action of the Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the final decision on which he set out would be taken by the U.N. Security Council.

Gunnes told the press that the U.N. would not reply to the request of the Bosnian Croat state of Herzeg-Bosnia for the passage of rapid reaction force troops across Croat-held territory to be negotiated.

EU Mediator Bild? Arrives in Sarajevo

AU0607114795 Paris AFP in English 1039 GMT 6 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 6 (AFP)—The European Union mediator Carl Bildt arrived in Sarajevo on Thursday for talks with Bosnian government officials and chiefs of the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia on to how to revive peace talks.

The former Swedish prime minister is leading a fresh initiative in search of an elusive opportunity to resume some form of peace negotiations between the warring parties in Bosnia and bring a halt to the latest upsurge in fighting.

UN officials said Bildt met with the acting commander of UN Peacekeeping Forces in Bosnia (UNPROFOR) and UNPROFOR chief of staff General Cees Nicolai.

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Bosnian officials confirmed that the Swedish diplomat would meet with government ministers later in the day. Bildt was assigned the task of representing the European Union in its efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict, in June replacing Britain's Lord Owen.

The EU mediator made an unexpected visit to Bosnian Croat officials in Mostar on Wednesday in an attempt to sooth their anxieties over the deployment of the Anglo-French-led rapid reaction force set up to protect UN peacekeepers in Bosnia.

The Bosnian Croat leader, Kresimir Zubak and president of the embryo Moslem-Croat federation of Bosnia banned the troops from moving into the country until "questions concerning its task, its mandate, its billets and its point of entry into Bosnia are clarified."

Serbs Warn NATO, UN Against 'Further Attacks'

AU0507133395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 July 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to the latest accusations of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] that the Serb side continued to shell civilian targets, the [Bosnian] Serb republic army general staff stated today that Serb republic army units on the Sarajevo front shelled neither civilian targets nor UNPROFOR.

The statement issued by the information service of the Serb republic army general staff emphasizes that Dutch General (Kess Nikolai), deputy commander of UNPROFOR for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, unjustly accused the Serb side of targeting residential areas and UNPROFOR, although it is the Muslims who are attacking units of the Serb republic army and peace forces stationed in the Sarajevo area. The Serb republic army general staff contends that this is yet another sign of the willfulness of UNPROFOR's low-ranking officers, whose behavior is in violation of the agreement between General Ratko Mladic and Gen. Bertrand Janvier, UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia. Generals Mladic and Janvier met in Zvornik on 29 June, when the Serb republic army commander demanded that UNPROFOR start behaving in an unbiased manner. That refers to spokesmen and to low-ranking officers who are being asked to stop making unfounded accusations against the Serb republic army.

According to the words of Gen. Mladic, the combat activity of the Serb republic army is not aimed against UNPROFOR nor are they in any danger from the Serbs. Only if further attacks are launched by UNPROFOR and NATO against Serb units and residential areas, the Serbs will respond using all available means, stated the Serb republic army general staff.

Serbs Say Bosnian Army Shelling Serb-Held Towns

AU0507130695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 3 July carries within its 35-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Correspondent Nedeljko Zelenovic says that "the shelling of the wider Hadzici area went on for five hours" and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army used "multiple rocket launchers, howitzers, and mortars of all caliber. The fighting began this morning at 0800 hours when the enemy attacked our defense lines from Brezovaca, Crvene Stijene, the villages of Kasapici and Tinovo on Mt. Igman, to Ostrik, i.e. the entire length of Mt. Orman." The report also says that "all attacks were repulsed" and that "as the Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] infantry sustained heavy losses, their artillery again pounced on the civilians." He goes on to say that "almost 200 shells of various calibers from all types of weapons landed on the Hadzici residential area. At about 1300, a large Muslim commando group attacked our positions in the area of Kuzmanova Gara but the fast and efficient fire of our defenders repulsed the attack. Several Muslim terrorists were eliminated and others, most of whom were wounded, managed to get away."

He describes the situation on the Ilidza front. "There have been no infantry attacks" but "Serb positions along the separation line and almost all Ilidza residential areas have been exposed to daily and random shelling. Fortunately, there are no casualties."

Miodrag Stanisic reports on "the indiscriminate artillery fire on residential areas in the Centar, Vogosca, and Rajlovac Municipalities" but says that "reconnaissance units of the Serb republic army's 3d Sarajevo Brigade all say that the enemy infantry will not remain passive for much longer, considering their movement and concentration." He also says that Alija Izetbegovic's "units still dream of penetrating the Bosna River valley and joining forces in the direction of Nabozici. Wartime presidencies of the said municipalities say that, from the military point of view, the Muslims do not stand a chance of succeeding."

Correspondent Gordana Krunic says that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is shelling "civilian targets in the Ilijas Municipality. This morning they mostly targeted the suburbs and at about 1130 hours shells landed on the town center. The inhabitants of Ilijas will spend yet another day in bunkers, as the Muslims again display their military impotence." She goes on to say that "Serb soldiers are not fooled by the relative calm on the front

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and remain poised and determined to repel any future attacks and, judging by the behavior of Izetbegovic's followers on the territory of Visoko and Breza, more attacks are bound to follow."

Correspondent Ljubinko Djuric says that Bosnia-Herzegovina Army artillery targeted "Doboj and Teslic today from the direction of Tesanj and a general alert has been in force throughout the day. From the Kicelji area, at 0850 hours, the Muslims fired several artillery shells, inflicting considerable material damage on the area in and around Teslic but no casualties were reported." He goes on to say that "at 0905 hours, the general alert siren was sounded in Doboj, too, as attacks were expected. The enemy launched an attack at 1700 hours sharp and several shells from the direction of Tesanj landed on the town center."

The studio announcer quotes a statement of the Herzegovinian Corps command that "Serb soldiers on the plateau of Mt. Treskavica launched a counterattack. The Serb command says that strong Muslim forces with the goal of penetrating toward Kalinovik and Trnovo and joining up in the besieged town of Gorazde are concentrated in the area." She says that "in the fierce fighting of yesterday and today, the Muslim army lost more than 20 soldiers."

The studio announcer says "Serb soldiers did not respond to sporadic provocations of Muslim and Croatian Defense Council units along the separation lines on the Majevica and Brcko fronts. The defense lines are firm and stable."

Krajisnik Rejects Latest Contact Group Plan

LD0507133595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2243 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zvornik, 4 Jul (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Bosnian Serb republic, reiterated in Zvornik today that acceptance of the Contact Group plan "is equal to capitulation."

"We are not fanatics but we have no other option but to resist all pressures applied by the international community and to win because we owe it to those who gave their lives to defend our right to freedom," Krajisnik said at a meeting of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands' municipal committee in Zvornik. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the military situation in the republic, Krajisnik said that the latest Muslim offensive on Serb Sarajevo was a complete failure, noting that unprecedented combat morale and a resoluteness to inflict a final defeat on the enemy was demonstrated during the clashes.

"If the attacks against the Serb republic's borders continue and if negotiations are not resumed soon we will be forced to defeat the enemy militarily," Krajisnik said. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik: War Could Be Brought to Quick End

LD0607102395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 6 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 6 Jul (SRNA)—The politicians will never create maps that do not take account what the Serb fighters liberate, said Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, in an interview published in today's SIM NOVINE in Bijeljina.

Commenting on the current situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krajisnik indicated the possibility of a rapid end to the war. "If the world realizes that the Muslims have no chance of subjugating the Serbs and if the Muslims are forced to sit down at the negotiating table, there could easily be a conclusion within the space of a month or two," said the speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb republic.

"It is neither the Muslims nor the Croats who are deciding on war, but their mentors, among whom there are divisions. Some are for a rapid end to the war and the establishing of normal relations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, while others are trying to create a military testing ground out of the region," Krajisnik said.

Expressing the hope that it has at last been proved that the Muslims are not capable of creating a state for themselves and that they have to remain in a federation with the Croats, the speaker of the Serb republic parliament stressed that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina "must be divided along the lines at which it originally split."

"For the sake of peace and future generations it is essential that the Serbs are separated from the Muslims and Croats. This has already been done and must continue."

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'RSK' Offers Counterconditions for Talks

LD0507155095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (SRNA)—Petar Damjanic, spokesman for the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said today that "the latest conditions for the continuation of talks that Croatia has given to Knin and Belgrade clearly show that the Croats have decided on the war option as a solution to the conflict with the RSK."

Damjanic told SRNA that "this confirms again the long-term strategy of returning the RSK to Croatia by force."

"The RSK, however, has clearly shown in the past year that it is in favor of peace and negotiations as the only solution to all of the disputed issues and conflicts with Croatia," Damjanic added.

"As a result of earlier experiences and the fact that it is always necessary to be cautious in dealing with the Croats, we have also set conditions for the continuation of talks," the spokesman of the Krajina president said and added:

"We are asking first and foremost that the Croatian Army withdraw from Mt. Dinara and that western Slavonia be proclaimed an exclusive protected UN zone."

Commenting on the latest concentration of Croatian troops on the borders of Krajina, Damjanovic said that this "also confirms the theory that Croatia wants to resolve all relations with the RSK by force."

"However, although the RSK supports a negotiated settlement of the conflict, we are fully prepared for another attack by Croatia, as is clearly shown by the urgent process of reorganization of our army, which was already in progress," Damjanic concluded.

Martic Says Defense Must Be Strengthened

LD0507224395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 5 Jul (SRNA)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said today in Golubic near Knin that "the most important thing for Krajina is the strengthening of our defense and the struggle for our final victory because there is no other way out for the Serb people."

"If the RSK can defend itself militarily, everything else will fall into place," the Krajina president said and added that "the international community will one day realize that the Serbs have a right to self-determination and will recognize Krajina."

Speaking at a ceremony to mark Krajina's Security Day, Martic stressed that the RSK would rather choose the battle for eventual freedom than the slavery with an uncertain outcome that it is being offered by the international community.

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Handzinski Discusses Defense Capability, NATO

AU0507195295 Skopje MIC in English 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Defence Minister Dr. Blagoj Handziski said in the interview for MIC that Macedonia is constantly raising its defence capability for protection of its territorial integrity and keeping its independence. It produces its own military means which satisfy the needs of the land army. In that sense, it is lacking some complex fighting systems. Macedonia is equipping its army according to the NATO standards for accession to this pact, which, according to Handziski "will be realized when Macedonia's political problems with Greece are settled."

Minister Handziski explained that the initiative for lifting the embargo on the import of arms was reiterated in front of the Security Council, under the explanation that "Macedonia has not contributed in any way to the war in former Yugoslavian regions." The Macedonian minister said that if it is jointly assessed that the war might spread to Macedonia, the mandate of UN Preventive Deployment Force [UNPREDEP] will change, as well as its contents and numbers. Dismissing speculation that the Krivolak Plateau might serve as a U.S. military base in case of a military escalation to the south of the Balkans, Handziski explains:

"It's about something else. If it is estimated that Macedonia's stability is jeopardized, we are convinced that NATO and the United States, without a chance of predicting whether that will be under the UN flag, with the expansion of the mandate of UNPREDEP, the forces of NATO and the United States will be increased in Macedonia to the extent that it is considered necessary to deter the expansion of the destabilization of the whole region. The peace and stability of this state coincides with the interests of the EU, the United States, and NATO, due to its members Greece and Turkey. It is our joint assessment that an eventual destabilization or conflict in Macedonia could not be of a local character, which could almost certainly grow into a Balkan war. In that sense, we have a coordinated action for monitoring the situation to the north of Macedonia and providing conditions to prevent its destabilization and the deterring of the spreading of the war."

According to the minister "Macedonia is relying on the collective systems of defence such as NATO and the 'Partnership for Peace' initiative." "We have a distinct and concrete cooperation with the U.S., foremost with the U.S. command in Europe, which is in charge of implementing the program within 'Partnership for Peace,' which is called 'Bridge Toward America,' and a special liaisons team has been deployed in Macedonia from March 1. Thanks to the interests of the United States at this moment to keep the peace as well as the guarantees for the territorial integrity of Macedonia, which was publicly expressed by the Presidents Bush and Clinton, the whole program is already being implemented in Macedonia, which is also being implemented in the member-states of the 'Partnership for Peace.'

"Thus, we have the same treatment as an equal member, although we are still not that legally, because of the Greek veto. In that sense, the American budget for 1996 also foresees funds for Macedonia." Minister Handziski explained that in this context, it is foreseen to improve and institutionalize the military cooperation with Albania.

Macedonia is also expecting a visit by the Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zulali. "This will regulate Macedonia's participation in the military exercises in Albania, as part of the 'Partnership for Peace' program," Handziski said. The Macedonian Defence Minister explained that Macedonia is training its army in line with the NATO standards, foremost in the education of its personnel. Also, Macedonia is manufacturing enough military means in its factories to satisfy its own needs.

"Our factories are working with very reduced capacity because they were dimensioned in the production chain of the former Yugoslav Army. We are able to triple production in some factories, to export ammunition and arms, but the embargo is preventing that. That is the reason why we can not provide a closed system of means, in order to provide progress in these factories. Now, they are working exclusively for our army.... Immediately after the adoption of the Law on National Defence, we constituted the two branches of our Army. The land army and the military Air Force and Antiaircraft Defence. We established the branches and services. In all the branches and services, we provide the necessary, foreseen part of material and technical military means from our domestic production and every year, we renew that part and it is enough to fill all necessary reserves for any eventual military action." Minister Handziski explained that the peace forces contain 0.7 percent of the overall part of the population, which also includes recruits from the nationalities. The military forces number some 7 percent of the overall population, some 130,000 people. "We have a worked-out system of constant exercises also of these reserve forces which are trained with our permanent military units, and in this respect, we are keeping up with the world standards." Starting from the next academic year 1995/96, Macedonia will start with the education of its officer personnel at the Military academy. The highest-ranking officers who will be promoted to the rank of

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generals will be educated at the national Military academies in some countries. "At present, we have three high-ranking officers at their highest school for national defence. Now, we have made sure that such personnel will be able to attend such schools in the United States, while we have also made such arrangements with Germany and Great Britain."

"We feel that international cooperation plays a very important role for building trust for peace and stability and strengthening our military readiness also by providing a possibility to train our officers according to NATO standards. We have signed agreements with Turkey for cooperation in the field of production of arms between ours and their factories, for the development of means to appear on joint markets. All of that is in a phase of preparation at the moment, so that we are ready to specify this cooperation after the embargo is lifted, and to be able to appear on third markets."

Gligorov Meets With Kosovo Ethnic Albanian Head

LD0507224195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2207 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], received Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, in Skopje today and exchanged views with him on the "situation in Kosovo, in Macedonia, and in the region in general," a statement from Gligorov's office this evening says.

The statement adds that "concern was expressed" during the talks at the escalation of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but there is no mention of which side is responsible for the "escalation."

Agreement was also stated that "peace and stability in the Balkans can be guaranteed only by solving outstanding issues by political means and by strengthening the European option of the Balkan states," the statement on Rugova's unscheduled visit says.

TANJUG has learned that Rugova stopped off in Skopje on his way to Pristina following a visit of several days to the United States and talks in Tirana with Albanian President Sali Berisha.

Albanian Parties To Coordinate Activities

95P20886A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 14 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Coordination of Activities for the Advancement of the Position of the Albanians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 12 June, a meeting of some Albanian intellectuals was held in Tetovo to examine the need for and possibility of cooperation among Albanian political parties in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the contribution of intellectuals in thrashing out our most important issues. The meeting was organized in the context of the disregard of the demands of the Albanians and, in general, the further deterioration of their position in the Republic of Macedonia. A group of intellectuals took the initiative for holding the meeting: the union of Albanian Intelligentsia in Macedonia, the League of Associations of Teachers of Albanian Language and Literature in Macedonia, the Association of Albanian Writers in Macedonia and the League of Albanian Women in Macedonia. It was done with the approval, understanding and active participation of the representatives of all Albanian political parties in Macedonia. Intellectuals participated in the meeting along with Abdurahman Aliti, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, Arben Xhaferi, chairman of the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity in Macedonia, Iljaz Halimi, chairman of the People's Democratic Party, Xhemil Idrizi, chairman of the Albanian Democratic League—Liberal Party and Qenan Mazllami, chairman of the Democratic Alliance Party—Islamic Path.

All the participants expressed their deep belief that, despite the good will and the efforts which are being made for the advancement of the position of the Albanians in Macedonia, a goal to which every Albanian political party aspires, there has been no important and qualitative progress. The Albanian political parties, regardless of whether or not they participate in the government, do not have any power and their influence in changing the situation is very little, if not non-existent. Recently, two things have happened which, unfortunately, have worsened the position of the Albanians in Macedonia: first, the Macedonian political parties in the government have hindered the attainment of the vital, democratic and legitimate demands of the Albanians and, second, the Albanian political parties have not coordinated cooperation among themselves as they should.

In order to remedy this situation, it was agreed at the meeting that from now on the Albanian political parties will thrash out, formulate, and present key issues dealing with the advancement of the position of the Albanians in Macedonia to domestic and foreign officials from a united point of view. Intellectuals and chairmen of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia will participate in the coordination of positions. At a time when we Albanians in Macedonia, in contrast to the others, do not have any scholarly institutions which could be of assistance to the political parties, this form of consulting the intellectuals is necessary until a more suitable form is found and established.

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This group, in cooperation with the chairmen of the Albanian political parties in Macedonia, will coordinate its work until the next meeting.

Ethnic Albanian Elites Must Be Realistic

95P20885A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 17 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Numan Sallai: "Among Ourselves—Our State Forming"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We are not far from the time (no more than four to five years ago) when the political elites of Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] (party members and the great majority of those who received the "seeds" of the electorate) were making guesses off the top of their heads about the future situation of the Albanians. With an unparallelled pomposity that at times went beyond the limits of sound reasoning, they convinced the people that they could achieve their desire to be a state-forming people right away. The elites asserted that this desire was not an illusion and that all opponents would fall in the face of this natural right because it was supported by all democratic world opinion.

Such refrains and slogans lost their intensity with the passage of time. Among the masses, the impression was being created that not only the opponents but also the Albanian elites themselves are amortizing their will. When these elites were faced with reality, they would see that their potentials and abilities were not up to the job. The elites of those days deserve respect for their courage in expressing their determination but they deserve criticism for their plan to achieve their aims (which consisted of a broad-scale manipulation whose effects are still being felt). Politicians and all of us must learn a lesson so that we do not "bite off more than we can chew."

In the meantime, these days, since it is not taken into consideration in the public appearances (and everyday activity) of the political parties, it seems that the will of the people, which is still present, has become marginalized or has taken on a strictly delarative nature. [passage omitted] Whereas, four or five years ago, the Albanian elites (who had little respect for the suggestions of individuals who had more experience in the political sphere and in the region) operated on the basis of promises which were "up in the air," now they operate from positions of active receptiveness. When all circumstances are taken into consideration and when all relevant factors which, in one way or another, bear on the resolution of our situation, are weigned, it would not be hard to say that the current option is the most favorable one.

If any party member with an orthodox nationalistic position (a blind patriot) believes that "active receptiveness" means the political blaming of the opposition ("the nationality issue has been subjected to the rules of the political market") in order to preserve a monopoly, this is not true. Such rhetoric and analogies do not hold water. This satisfies only the broad masses and has nothing to do with reality and with our political power. Therefore, this must be interpreted as demagogy which has no positive function and which only serves confusion, personal interests or local particularism. In the case of the latter, such rhetoric can "serve to" resolve problems among Albanians.

The Albanian political elites (with few exceptions) have understood something which everyone, more or less, knows—efforts have failed for the will of the people to become a reality immediately. Although they are split and demoralized, it is good that they are not reneging on their stated political aim because practically no one can contest this right with arguments. However, the disproportion between the indisputable right and the lack of adequate (political) power to achieve the expressed desire can be compensated for only by an elite which will not be preoccupied with itself and will not set up any obstacles for its fellow countrymen to achieve their will today or tomorrow. Therefore, the people should be clearly informed about the extent of our possibilities in regard to political power. This should be done so that those people who trusted the elite of that time who told them that "the Marathon could be won by sprinters" would not be the object of manipulation. The current Albanian elites do not need any re-examination of their political determination but they must explain to the people that the realization of their aims is a highly-complex process, so that they will not be permanently lost.

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Olechowski Worried About Kohl Comments on NATO

AU0507131395 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by "FY": "Linkage to EU Membership?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn, 4 July—Just a few days before the chancellor's trip to Poland, differences between Bonn and Warsaw have emerged about Poland's admission into NATO. In an interview with Polish television, Kohl said that one has to see accession to NATO in connection with "the development of accession to the EU." He does not consider it prudent to separate the two things completely. One must not permit Poland to get into conflict with Russia; instead, there must "be agreement," which should link "Poland's justified security interests...with Russia's justified security interests." Kohl added: "There is no point in digging a new trench, so to speak, by shifting NATO's border from the German-Polish border to the Polish-Russian border.... I will do everything that I can to work in this spirit."

Deputy Polish Foreign Minister Olechowski said in this connection that he is "very worried" about Kohl's statement. The chancellor had established linkage between admission to the EU and to NATO. He made it clear that Poland does not want to wait with joining NATO until it can join the EU. NATO membership is striven for by 1998.

In Bonn, it was said on Tuesday [4 July] that, "in the chancellor's view," there is no formal linkage. During the visit to Poland it is also intended to draw up a balance sheet and to make the normalization of relations visible. In the course of this, the situation at the border checkpoints will also be discussed. Despite the extension of the checkpoints, the problems have not been solved. Trade relations are to be another focal issue of the talks. Germany is Poland's most important foreign trade partner. The chancellor will attend the opening of the German-Polish Industrial and Trade Chamber in Warsaw. Economics Minister Rexrodt will accompany him on his visit to Warsaw, as will Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania Minister-President Seite. Finally, cultural relations will also be an issue for talks. The new cultural agreement suggested by Bonn will, however, not yet be signed. An obviously sensitive issue is Germany's desire for the return of German cultural assets, which stayed in the eastern German areas that were occupied by Poland at the end of the war and which are still stored in Poland.

Kohl will arrive in Warsaw on Thursday afternoon, where he will first meet with Prime Minister Oleksy. Afterwards, the chancellor will speak to the members of the Sejm and the Senate. On Friday, he will meet President Walesa, attend the opening of the German-Polish Industrial and Trade Chamber, and meet representatives of the Polish parties and of the German minority in Poland. On Friday, he will go to Krakow, accompanied by Foreign Minister Bartoszewski, and fly back to Germany from there.

Walesa Said To Support 'S' Constitution Draft

WS0507121995 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 1

[Commentary by Piotr Zaremba: "Use Them and Bump Them Theory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Walesa has applied his "use them and bump them theory" once again. This time he did not use people alone. The presidential draft of the constitution was brought into play.

Until recently, Walesa did not mind that his draft constitution did not mention traditional values. He did not care about the political views of the lawyers working for him. When they developed the very liberal draft of the Rights and Liberties Charter, the right was outraged. Walesa listened to the shouts with indifference. What counted most was that the lawyers gave the president more power than anywhere else in Europe.

Now the situation has changed. Walesa needs the support of the Church more than ever. Most of all, he wants the support of Solidarity, as it is taking over the votes of those who are disappointed with the quarreling right.

The civic Solidarity draft, signed by a huge number of Walesa's potential—albeit disappointed—supporters, is thus becoming the presidential draft with each passing day. It does not endow him with huge powers, but that is not important at the moment. The president wants supporters. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz—his protegee who became a rival—is pointing out he has no political backdrop. The battlefield is not the Constitutional Commission, but opinion polls.

The only real winner thus far is Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski. He has his union and his draft and is being courted from all sides. He is a mediator for the right and promotes Gronkiewicz-Waltz. He may, however, turn toward Walesa. Yet he should remember the "use them and bump them theory."

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Daily Sees How Walesa May Lose Election

WS0507133095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Will Lech Walesa Fall Victim to Lech Walesa?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If Lech Walesa decides to run in the elections, his role will be different from the roles played by other candidates. He will run as the incumbent president, that is, he will try to keep the office which others will try to get. This is a privileged position, but it does not necessarily mean it will help Lech Walesa.

Why is this position privileged? Because the president who is running for reelection has a great ally in the competition against "debutantes": This ally is the aversion of a considerable part of society to changes.

This is a characteristic of the middle class. Representatives of this class are convinced by the following arguments: The president has already proved himself; he is experienced and well known all over the world. Of course, he has made mistakes, but who does not? If he is reelected, as an experienced president he will find it easier to avoid making mistakes. He has his own clear vision of the state and of the manner of holding his office. He knows what he wants; it is no secret who he is, and he has a large group of tried people.

He must be given a chance to complete what he has begun—this is the conclusion drawn by a representative of the middle class in the West.

Why is it so that Lech Walesa may not only gain, but even lose due to the fact that has been president for some time now?

The middle class, consisting of people who want peace and stabilization more than anything else, because then they have a guarantee to accumulate their riches slowly yet surely, is still very weak in Poland.

Second, it is doubtful whether the people who cherish these values consider Lech Walesa to be a person who could guarantee them. Does his first term of office make them certain that he would guarantee these values in the second term? Probably not.

There are also other facts which prove that in Poland, unlike in stable Western democracies, the president—after his first term of office—does not necessarily have to have an edge over candidates who are running for this office for the first time. The so-called common sense of the average American of Frenchman leads them to think: "Let it be like it is now, because things may get worse." The common sense of a Pole whispers to him mischievously: "Something must be changed, because things cannot be worse than they are now."

Also other people may vote against Lech Walesa: those who like changes and those who prefer stabilization—for the sake of that stabilization.

Lech Walesa may fall victim to his own decisions and to the customs which have been established as a result: the war at the top, dissolution of the Sejm, forcing two governments to fall, frequent personnel changes in the Chancellery, the chaos of his presidency—submitting more and more new ideas which are not implemented; forcing certain conceptions and then abandoning them; indecision on the "legs" issue (supporting the left and then the right "leg"); conceptional incoherence of the presidency—at one time going right into the center of the limelight and then staying out of it; cutting ribbons; coming into conflicts with government coalitions, cabinets, and politicians, and then reaching agreements with them. As a result of all this, changes and instability have become a characteristic feature of his leadership style.

The instability of organs of authority has become a normal and obvious thing. The authorities themselves are constantly recalling, appointing, and dissolving themselves, and they always have good reason to do so. Voters may accept this style as their own, take advantage of these methods, and act like the people in power, that is, recall the president and appoint a new one.

The fact that Lech Walesa could have the best intentions in the world when he started the changes may be of no significance at all. Insignificant will also be the fact that the very first "change" in our most recent history was a good one—August 1980, Solidarity, the downfall of communism in Poland, as well as the fact that Lech Walesa was an important hero at that time and that he made a big contribution to that correct revolution.

Will anyone vote for Walesa in 1995 because he jumped a fence 15 years ago, even if that event triggered all the changes that came later? It seems that few people will do it. People will remember what he has done over the last five years, when he was president. In addition, they will remember all the bad things he did. Achievements and good things are forgotten and bad things are remembered. That is the way it is.

If Lech Walesa loses, one of the things which will defeat him will be the one which he has himself made more popular: getting people used to changes, "taming" changes.

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Covenant Meeting Reveals Right Still Divided

WS0607105095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Right Wing After Primaries in Sulejowek; Unity Still Far Away"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The St. Catherine Covenant held a session lasting several days in the building of the Mission Order of Holy Spirit Servants in Sulejowek. However, even before the session began, it was known that Professor Adam Strzembosz and President Lech Walesa—two out of the three persons considered to be the most viable right wing candidates—would not take part in the discussion. Of the politicians whose rating is pretty high in the preelection opinion polls, only Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz has remained in the battle. However, she failed to obtain the support of the center-right.

Atmosphere Full of Tension

Jan Parys [leader of the Movement of the Third Republic] withdrew his candidacy; he complained about the Covenant's parties being in conflict with each other: "I do not imagine cooperating with a political base which is torn by such conflicts," Parys told RZECZPOSPOLITA. "During the session, the participants were divided, and the atmosphere was full of tension."

Parys did not endorse anyone. The former national defense minister believes that his resignation means "Russia's victory" because he would have been the person who is best prepared to defend Poland's sovereignty. "None of the other candidates are as well prepared as I am," Jan Parys believes.

During the session in Sulejowek, it turned out that no one—either Gronkiewicz-Waltz, or Olszewski, or Moczulski—would readily agree to give up running. Olszewski (particularly Antoni Macierewicz, who accompanies and supports him) accused Leszek Moczulski of cooperating with the special services of the Polish People's Republic; he recalled that the name of the leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland was on the "list of secret agents." Moczulski, in turn, said officially that he would withdraw his candidacy if Jan Olszewski did as well.

Participants in the primaries held a mock ballot. "It looked like a confession," says one of the persons who took part in it. "We came up to Father Jozef Maj one by one and wrote on a sheet of paper the name of the candidate we supported."

Another Conclave

The three candidates are to hold another meeting in a couple of days; this time they will meet exclusively with Father May (the only person who knows the result of the mock voting) and perhaps with Marian Krzaklewski. They will encourage two of the three candidates to back out. "Father May will not act as an ordinary priest; after all, it is no secret whom he consults about his activities," says our interlocutor, and suggests that the person is Primate Glemp. Aside from the talk with Father May, another argument which the candidates are to consider will be the results of opinion polls conducted by a Solidarity ["S"] organization in Lodz. The position of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz is very strong here, support in line with the results of a "Pentor" research carried out on the order of WPROST: She is supported by 12 percent and occupies second place; the first is occupied by Aleksander Kwasniewski (26 percent).

If this meeting does not end in selecting one candidate, the possibility cannot be ruled out that another vote will be held; this time the results will be revealed.

The Church Will Decide?

Center-right politicians do not rule out, however, that Jan Olszewski, even if he is not chosen as their candidate, will not back out; they fear that he will split with the St. Catherine Covenant and run in the elections on his own, despite suggestions from the church and "S."

Once one candidate is selected, the center-right would like him or her, as well as Adam Strzembosz and Lech Walesa, to let church authorities act as intermediaries. Thus, the entire right wing-patriotic-Christian-independence camp would field a single candidate, all the more so because both Adam Strzembosz and Lech Walesa do consider the opinion of the church.

Strzembosz vs. Kaczynski

None of the candidates would like to give in to the political parties which are their political bases, and this is what they have obligated themselves to do. However, Prof. Strzembosz, trying to become independent of the Center Accord [PC], (which supported him until recently), came into conflict with it, as a result of which his election campaign has been stopped and his ratings in election rankings have fallen. At a meeting with representatives of his election committees, Strzembosz complained that PC refused to give him access to the list of his election committees and to some of the lists with signatures supporting his candidacy.

"Prof. Strzembosz has received all the materials of the election staff, except those which in fact were lists of PC

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structures. He has also received the lists of signatures supporting his candidacy," says [PC Chairman] Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

PC has already ceased to endorse Strzembosz (it accuses him of supporting a program which accepts the status quo and for planning to annihilate the PC); therefore, it wants to find a new candidate—one that could unify the Solidarity opposition. "Just like the other candidates who come from forces of Solidarity provenance, Prof. Strzembosz ought to back out or at least announce that he is prepared to do so in the immediate future," the PC chairman believes. He stresses that those members of his party who are taking part in the election campaign of the Supreme Court president are committing a "serious violation of the party's statute."

Korwin on Working Vacation

Thus, both groupings which call themselves rightist and center-right parties are still unable to field a single candidate. More and more new names are being submitted. Most of the pretenders (including Prof. Strzembosz) declare that if a "dark horse" able to reconcile everyone appears on the scene, they will back out. They do not include Janusz Korwin-Mikke, who still defends his proposal of signing "pacta conventa" accords. Meanwhile, Korwin-Mikke is staying away from the primaries and disputes among parties. He is on vacation, meeting with voters in Koszalin Voivodship.

Freedom Union Holds Support Meeting for Kuron

WS0507123895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Piotr Zaremba: "Freedom Union Sings for Kuron"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I am against the anti-Polish People's Republic [PRL] committees," was Jacek Kuron's comment on Jan Rokita's initiative aimed at Aleksander Kwasniewski. The National Council of the Freedom Union [UW] calls on the party to support Kuron's campaign more actively. And for now the UW members are singing his praise.

"Much has been done in the PRL, for instance in the field of construction," Jacek Kuron, UW candidate for president, told journalists when asked about the idea of the anti-PRL committees. "This attempt to clear accounts with PRL does not suit me, as I am opposed to saying anything negative about anybody."

"Before the war, if somebody called himself an anticommunist, then he was a Nazi, and when he was called an anti-Nazi, then he turned out to be a communist," Kuron asserted. He also assured that he is for punishing criminals and that he himself "will be clever enough to clear accounts with the PRL" in his new book.

Let us recall that, according to Jan Rokita, who is a UW right wing politician, the purpose of the committees is to fight Aleksander Kwasniewski's candidacy and to clear the ground in order to consolidate the ranks of the Solidarity parties around the opponent of the SLD leader, the opponent who will reach the second round. For the time being, the "Three-Fourths Committee" (the name is based on the assumption that three-fourths of Poles do not wish to support the leader of the postcommunists) has been established in Krakow. It is composed of people affiliated with the UW.

A few days ago, a part of the UW presidium and Kuron himself attacked both the idea and Rokita. They recognized that the idea of the committees was an element in weakening the official presidential campaign of the party by engaging it in a "purely negative" campaign. Some UW members were afraid that the dispute could be subject to council debate.

However, this did not happen. Rokita appeared at the council's session only for a moment. The resolution calling on UW members to be more effectively engaged in the presidential campaign was adopted without discussion. In the afternoon, UW activists went into the streets of Warsaw's Old Town to collect signatures for Kuron's candidacy.

During the council session, enthusiasm was demonstrated, among other things, by singing the following, which is to become the official anthem of the campaign: "The campaign has already come! Jacek, Jacek! You united us for good," the UW members' voices sounded. "Jacek, Jacek! It will be sad and bad without you. Because we shall not lose, not at all! Once we win, we shall meet again!"

The leaders did not sing aloud, leaving this to lesser known members of the council. Another part of the campaign were T-shirts with Kuron's face on them, which were worn by some of the activists, among others by campaign chief Michal Boni.

Speaking to the council, Kuron said that it is imperative to observe the law, criticizing the decision on maintaining parliamentary privilege for Ireneusz Sekula and calling on politicians to reveal their incomes. He charged the coalition with rejecting the so-called pact for Silesia. "This is stupid, as so many social forces are willing to reach consensus on the pact."

His vision of the presidency is to mobilize social activity. He wants to do it now, calling on the voters to write letters to him. He also wants to submit to them a "report on the status of the state and society". He will

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be assisted by experts: present at the UW candidate's conference were Henryka Bochniarz, former minister of industry in Bielecki's government, and Professor Jerzy Szacki, a well-known sociologist.

Party Chairman Leszek Balcerowicz spoke in a different tone. He called the new law on commercialization as antiprivatization. "It makes the economy political," he is convinced. "It was unjustly said about the Third Republic of Poland that it was a republic of buddies," and just now we are dealing with "the republic of buddies in the economy," he said.

He warned against postponing the reform of social benefits and public services. "The costs of this delay are growing; it will only be possible to pay for them either by a tax increase or by increased inflation, or contracting loans, as was done when Gierek ruled," he complained. He sees the UW's place "between those who go to the Office of the Council of Ministers and those who defend this office but do not undertake any reforms."

Deputy Jerzy Ciemniewski criticized the draft of the constitution now being elaborated. In his view, it is bad, containing too many details and provisions concerning the sphere of economy and social affairs. The aforementioned "are purely journalistic superficiality in nature," and thus they are dangerous to the budget and the economy.

He charged the Democratic Left Alliance with elaborating the last chapters of the constiution, especially the part about the president, to agree with the tone of the electoral campaign. He recalled that the UW wants the the work on the constitution suspended until after the election of the president.

Defense Minister, Sejm Cooperation Viewed

WS0507141495 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 3 Jul 95 p 9

[Article by Jan Forowicz: "Minister Okonski Wants Closer Cooperation With Deputies: 'Talk Is Necessary'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent meeting of deputies with National Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski has proven that conducting a dialogue is advantageous—this according to Wladyslaw Medwid of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. "Both parties benefit from this. Parliamentarians increase their store of knowledge, which is needed to execute increasingly efficient civilian control over the Armed Forces. The minister, I think, left the meeting convinced that he can count on support during the inspection conducted by parliamentarians."

As we have already reported, the Sejm's National Defense Commission was briefed about the National Defense Ministry [MON] by Minister Okonski. The minister also answered numerous questions. The minister's entire conversation with deputies lasted over three hours and focused primarily on very sensitive issues.

At the top of the list were issues connected with interpreting civilian control over the Armed Forces and the depoliticization of military circles. In all the discussions, however, there was one marked topic of concern concerning the status of the Armed Forces, the modernization of equipment, and improving soldiers' skills.

Implementation of the Sejm Resolution

First, the minister submitted a report on the method of implementing the Sejm resolution on the country's defenses, which was passed on 16 February.

Z. Okonski stated with regret that the implementation of this resolution is threatened. "After last week's session of the Council of Ministers and upon hearing the predictions of the authors of the 1996 state budget, especially as to the plan for distributing public funds, I am not an optimist. I will, however, try to convince government members that after many years of falling defense expenditures, the time has come to break free of these disadvantageous circumstances," said the minister.

As for other provisions of the 16 February resolution, plans have already been discussed in MON for reorganizing the Armed Forces through the year 2000, adequately equipping them with modern arms by the year 2010, and other plans for developing the Armed Forces or redeploying them. A new concept for organizing and preparing the state to defend itself against outside aggression or new threats is ready, and it is expected to be presented to the Council of Ministers Defense Affairs Committee. The minister then presented to the deputies legislative plans undertaken by MON. These reports and other information indicate to deputies that MON has fulfilled a big portion of its tasks, as indicated in the resolution.

Press Marathon

The next topic touched upon by the minister involved the recurrent uproars in the press concerning developments in MON. It is usually the case that embarrassing speculations involving personal matters are published.

Sensational information is often highlighted in television newscasts, even though the reports may only be trumped-up stories involving high-level skirmishes. Reports are often published on the front pages of newspapers concerning alleged mismanagement of forces, and

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nonexistent but apparently bothersome MON scandals, etc. An example of the first case would be the irrational commentary by authors of an obviously false report that MON's civilian-military side passes all of the ministry's personnel matters to the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces.

There are also instances in which ill-considered press reports are circulated in Poland, and later abroad. The report appearing on the Polish television "Wiadomosci" newscast, announcing in a serious tone that we had sold several dozen old combat vehicles to Angola, resulted in funny commentaries in the West. German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe referred to it with humor during his recent meeting with Minister Okonski. "What modern vehicles did you have to sell which would so considerably decrease the defense capability of your country?" he asked our minister.

Arguing with some of the minister's comments, the deputies presented examples of statements by high-ranking military officials.

They availed themselves of reports published on the pages of POLSKA ZBROJNA and other newspapers (GAZETA POLSKA, WPROST, GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI). These statements showed—in the deputies' opinion—that certain high-ranking commanders tend to engage themselves in politics.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] blames General Tadeusz Wilecki for a statement to GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI, from which it is alleged that the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces admitted the possibility of actively participating in political life.

It is true that no soldier loses his civic rights, therefore, after taking off his uniform, he acquires the right to vote. "If, however, acting chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces announces that the Armed Forces become a political issue," says Szmajdzinski. [sentence as published]

Tomasz Nalecz criticizes basic tenets of the article by Major General Julian Lewinski, commander of the Warsaw Military District, published in POLSKA ZBROJNA. Professor Nalecz is of the opinion that deputies were harshly and unjustly attacked by the author when he said that the law on Armed Forces billeting is allegedly "inadequate." In certain conditions, the general's statement could serve to evoke ominous specters of war between the military and civilians, according the Union of Labor deputy. In his opinion, it demonstrates the poor relations in the "ministerial higher ranks."

"Has MON undertaken any efforts to improve the overall situation and remove the evil which spilled over after the Drawsko affair?," he asks.

Parliamentarians turn to the minister with the next such example. Ludwik Turko of the Freedom Union [UW] and other deputies—participants in the meeting in Zielonka, near Warsaw—heard quite surprising evaluations of the international situation of the Republic of Poland, as well as critical statements on the effects of the reductions in our Armed Forces, agreed upon in Vienna by Major General Tadeusz Jauer, commander of the Antiaircraft Forces in the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces.

Politicians are disturbed by the general's comments on our Armed Forces.

They are disturbed by the general's comments on undertakings agreed upon in highest-level international treaties. This is, they say, dangerous from the point of view of the reliability of our commitments subject to the well-understood principle of mutual limitations to our military potential.

Leszek Bugaj of PSL got very upset by a report which appeared in GAZETA POLSKA on 22 July [as published]. In an article with the emphatic title of "I Would Also Betray," Lieutenant Dragan of the Pomeranian Military District stands up for Colonel Kuklinski [convicted of spying for the West in the 1980's]. "Isn't that a political statement?" cries the deputy.

The minister does not praise the engagement of soldiers in politics. "Generally speaking, I issued orders to not get involved in any political discussions. The noted acts of illegally joining political groupings do not and will not go unpunished," said Minister Okonski.

An Endless List of Issues

Participants in the meeting also asked the minister more questions, on very different topics. Zbyszek Zaborowski (SLD) is worried about the political results of the aforementioned questioning of disarmament levels set in the Vienna agreement. Zbigniew Maczka (UW) would like to believe that military tenders for the delivery of equipment and armaments are conducted without any objections.

Janusz Zemke (SLD) placed emphasis on obvious disinformation within military circles. He stated that during meetings in various places there has appeared an unjustified wave of fear over an alleged threat to military retirement pensions, and he heard rumors that soldiers will be forced to purchase military apartments. "Who is the source of these rumors, who spreads them,

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and against what backdrop are such absurdities born? Why exacerbate the frustration in military circles?"

Janusz Onyszkiewicz (UW) is interested in the dynamics and direction of changes in soldiers' opinions and attitudes. Why did the Vienna disarmament agreement of 1990, which was negotiated for such a long time and directly concerned Poland, not lead to any objections until it was questioned by our general.... Can a competent General Staff officer, with knowledge of the issue, even tell that these agreements are disadvantageous for Poland?

The minister quietly answered the questions. He identified himself with the commanding cadre, but this does not mean that he shares all the opinions expressed by various officers.

When the discussion of topics touched upon by deputies comes to an end, he said that the legislative changes to the Polish Law on the Armed Forces is just the initial stage of creating a new Armed Forces of a truly democratic state. In this way, it is more difficult to restructure mentality than to issue new regulations. And there is much to restructure.

A great many burdens are the legacy of the Polish People's Republic. Who other than the Armed Forces was subjected to indoctrination then? We know the answer, as we are aware of the importance of the past.

"However," the minister emphasized, "let us not reconcile with those who try to persuade us that the Armed Forces do not plan any changes and that they would like to remove themselves from the processes of democratizing the state! The minister intends to fulfill very necessary functions, which are similar to a transmission belt, to facilitate communication between the Armed Forces cadre and the politicians shaping the new system."

Sejm Commission Head on Control Over Army

WS0507132195 Poznan WPROST in Polish 9 Jul 95 p 27

[Interview with Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission, by Dobrochna Kedzierska and Jerzy Slawomir Mac; place and date not given: "Secret Licenses"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [WPROST] There is an ongoing discussion on whether civilian control over the Armed Forces exists. Why is the National Defense Commission not taking part in it?

[Szmajdzinski] From the very beginning of its term, the commission acknowledged this is a fundamental issue. We discussed it with subsequent ministers, waiting for them to take the initiative. We lost our patience several months ago and developed the Law on the Office of the Defense Minister in compliance with the standards applied in democratic states. It allows the minister not to "control," as the word irritates the military, but to take full responsibility for the activities of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] and the Armed Forces.

[WPROST] It is difficult, however, to avoid the word "control," especially as the constitution provides that it is exerted by the Sejm. As chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission, do you feel the parliament does exert that control?

[Szmajdzinski] I cannot say there is no control. I can only be more specific and say that the process of establishing civilian control over the Armed Forces is slow and difficult.

[WPROST] Does the Commission have easy access to MON documents, easy enough to guarantee sufficient control of MON?

[Szmajdzinski] We do not have the full access we would like. The Sejm exerts control primarily via the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. Its work is very valuable. Thanks to NIK, the budget of the Armed Forces is becoming more and more readable.

[WPROST] Does this apply also to the military information services?

[Szmajdzinski] My commission has a lot of trouble supervising the operations of the military information services. The difficulties are similar to those encountered by Bujak in the case of the civilian secret services. We must be self-critical and admit that not all the deputies are willing to keep secrets. When a commission counts some 30 members, there may always be a leak. Few people feel responsible for the classified information they have access to. It was therefore very prudent to establish one secret services commission made up of just a few members.

[WPROST] In the United States, the Congress argues over every single tank or plane that is sold. In Poland, there are over 50 companies trading arms. Their contracts, even the very big ones, do not interest the deputies.

[Szmajdzinski] This is due to a hypersensitivity on the part of the militaries and their conviction that civilians are incompetent. I do not think the deputies should interfere too much with the transactions as this would lead to the emergence of yet another pressure group. What we should do, however, is to revise the procedures of signing contracts for the sales of arms and modify the legal requirements for arms trade licenses. The market

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is, after all, very narrow and it cannot be governed by the same rules as taxi services.

[WPROST] Does the Commission know what are the criteria applied by MON when it gives preference to certain companies over others, for example when choosing NAT to sell the BWP-2 combat carriers?

[Szmajdzinski] The Commission does not know what those criteria are. We will learn what they are once we receive the NIK report. I hope the minister will help us.

Need for Army Financing Reform Discussed

95EP0132A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2 Jun 95 p 16

[Article by Pawel Wronski under the rubric "Views": "Once a Year in the Defense Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Solidarity's National Section of the Defense Industry will decide whether or not to expand the strikes. Regardless, the situation in the defense industry will not be changed by strikes but rather by a reform in the system of funding the army.

Three years ago, Steven Spielberg began shooting "Schindler's List" at Mesko in Skarzysko-Kamienna, where yet another strike had just ended. One of the employees said: "By now, we have become mere extras."

Spielberg received several Oscars for his film. Mesko is laying off yet another group of employees and was one of the first enterprises to take part in a rolling strike in the defense industry.

For three years now, it has been the rule that protests in the defense industry begin at the time the budget of the Ministry of National Defense is being approved; for a long time now, there have been no funds for large-scale procurement in it. This year, the budget was approved in February, and at that time the protest action began. The strike in the defense industry has been on for almost a month now, and there is no sign of it ending soon. On a regular business day, the defense industry utilizes no more than 25 percent of its production capacity, which is to say that the work forces of many factories have nothing to do anyway. They simply stand by the hibernating machinery. How is that different from the situation since the strike was called?

Representatives of the Ministry of Industry tell the trade unionists to be patient; the situation will improve in two years if at that time, in accordance with a Sejm resolution, the budget of the Ministry of National Defense increases to 3 percent of the gross domestic product. However, despite a proviso by the deputies that these funds are to be allocated for new defense materiel it is by no means certain that the army will not eat them away. At present, personnel expenditures account for 60 percent of the expenditures of the Ministry of National Defense (retirement benefits, pay, meals). It is also true that had the government and the president had the courage to implement reforms in the Armed Forces over the last two years the situation in the defense industry would be far better.

The Polish Armed Forces still maintain their strength based on the Vienna and Paris Accords. In keeping with the latter, Poland can have ground forces with 230,000 soldiers. Meanwhile, most of the neighboring states—Germany, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—are reducing their armed forces (for example, Germany recently implemented a 10-percent cut). A smaller army means an opportunity to shift some of the funds from personnel expenditures to the procurement of new materiel. In our country, this money is used to feed soldiers which serve one of the longest active duty terms in this part of Europe. (In Poland, basic military service lasts 18 months; there are states in Western Europe which have cut it down to nine months).

In Poland, plans for reductions in the strength of the army have been made in the National Security Bureau since as early as 1992. Experts estimated that the Polish Armed Forces would consist of about 180,000 soldiers (who would serve for 12 rather than 18 months). The strength of career servicemen would be kept at the same level (professionals would account for almost one-half of the army). It was suggested that funds saved in this manner be appropriated for training and materiel procurement. The generals did not support these projects; President Walesa was against them as well.

A harmful fiction is being kept up in our state: Too large an army has too little funds for materiel and training. While in the service, a Polish tanker fires 12 rounds (a NATO tanker fires 50-60 times). If the successors of Janek Kos continue to be trained in this mode, ammunition out of the reserves from the times of the Warsaw Pact will suffice for many years.

In view of restricted training, the situation is now the worst in the ammunition industry, which had been built up to meet the needs of the entire Warsaw Pact. At the already mentioned Mesko, huge shops were built in the 1980's which now are open to the winds. The situation is the same at Pronit Pionki. As the strike was beginning, the first defense industry factory—the Pressta SA stamping plant in Bolechowice near Poznan, one of the most modern in Poland—went bankrupt as the government looked on passively. It was built under Gierek, among other things, in order to stamp bodies

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for intermediate-range missiles. Meanwhile, our army launches several missiles a year.

Both the trade unionists and the Ministry of Industry are feverishly trying to find additional funds for procurement. Colonel Jerzy Kade from the Ministry of Industry aired the astounding concept of imposing a 1-percent tax on fuels to benefit the defense sector. The trade unionists turned to the Law on Armed Forces Billeting. The law enables the army to sell surplus buildings, warehouses, and shops. The army could buy materiel with this money.

The Sejm is yet to vote on the law with the inclusion of the Senate's amendments. The defense industry may partake of its blessings as late as the end of this year. However, this law should have been passed two years ago. Even then the army complained about owning too many buildings which it had to take care of and pay taxes on.

That exports can rescue our defense industry is an illusion. Exports can decide the fate of individual plants, but not the entire sector. This year, the value of defense industry exports may reach $200 billion [as published], setting a post-1991 record. Having contracts which went into billions and ranking seventh among the world's weapon exporters in 1988 remain but a memory. However, almost 80 percent of exports in the 1980's went to the Warsaw Pact states, primarily the USSR. Due to the settlement system, a large proportion of these proceeds existed solely on paper. (Poland supported the Governments of Iraq, Angola, Mozambique, and Yemen).

Procurement by the army must be the basis for prosperity. Only such procurement will drive up exports. A partner who wants to buy weapons usually asks if they are in service with the army of the producer country.

Prosperity may set in in the Polish defense in two years. However, in order to live to see the prosperity, the defense industry must already have an idea of what the Polish Army will need after this period is over.

The Polish defense industry has changed radically in the last three years, as participants in the May session of the NACC (North Atlantic Cooperation Council) noted with regard to the "Polish experience in defense industry conversion." Wages are being paid regularly. As recently as a year and a half ago, workers received wages in several installments. Russia's representative Vladimir Chernyakov stated that the work force of the Kamaz special enterprise has not received wages for two months. From the Russian point of view, the defense industry of Poland is prospering.

First of all, the defense industry has gone civilian. According to industrial policy guidelines for 1995-97, civilian output will account for 70 percent of the entire output of the defense industry. Bumar Labedy (producer of tanks and armored personnel carriers) currently produces self-propelled cranes and mining equipment. Instead of engines for T-55 tanks, the Wola Mechanical Engineering Enterprise manufactures oil and gas-fired power generators which are purchased by Ukrainian oilmen. WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant] Mielec (trainers and combat planes) manufactures doors for long-range Boeing planes; the Stalowa Huta Metallurgical Works (armored personnel carriers) manufactures construction equipment; the Optics Industry Center (sights) produces tax-capable cash registers; Gamrat from Jaslo (military chemicals) produces sewer pipes which by no means resemble gun tubes.

The Polish defense industry has also begun to cooperate with Western industries. In Gdansk, Unimor cooperates with Ericsson of Sweden in producing radio links, and Rawar from Warsaw manufacturers, together with Thomson of France, FF (friend-or-foe) identification devices for planes. Stalowa Wola manufactures tubes for the Swedish Bofors cannons. In the future, Polish purchases abroad may be based on the "offset principle": Purchases will be linked to a given company investing in the purchaser country.

Experts from the Ministry of Industry believe that prosperity in the defense industry will begin two years from now. The army will place huge orders with the Polish defense industry anyway because it must, for example, replace obsolete T-55 tanks with the PT-91 Twardy, buy antitank systems, radios, helicopters, and armored personnel carriers. At present, Ministry of National Defense orders placed with the defense industry do not exceed 2.3 trillion old zlotys. This year, the army will buy five Sokol helicopters, 15 self-propelled howitzers, and seven antiaircraft systems. In the opinion of experts from the Ministry of Industry, procurement on the order of 6-7 trillion zlotys is necessary for this sector to turn profitable.

The question is what condition the defense industry is going to be in at the end of these two years. It still makes use of technologies dating back to the 1970's and 1980's. The technology gap between Poland and the West is widening dangerously. Despite constraints on weapons expenditures, 10-12 percent of expenditures from the defense budget are still allocated for research in NATO countries and Russia, whereas in Poland such expenditures account for less than 1 percent. The work force of research and development centers has been reduced by one-half; some centers have been liquidated. Therefore, it is questionable whether Polish armaments

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will still be attractive for an army which aspires to join NATO.

The defense industry must survive the two years to come, but it must know right now what the Polish Army will need after this period ends. Provisional arrangements hurt the defense industry the most.

Strategic programs initiated by the Pawlak government turned out to be a failed attempt at long-term planning. They involved the development of the Loara antiaircraft missile and artillery system, further work on the Huzar helicopter, and a program of work on the third-generation Polish tank Goryl. The combined cost of this program was supposed to reach 800 billion old zlotys; the funds were to come from the budget of the Committee for Scientific Research. Unfortunately, the Committee for Scientific Research did not receive funds for this purpose.

Within the framework of the PHARE [Poland/Hungary Assistance to Restructure the Economy], the Ministry of Industry is developing a plan to restructure the defense industry in 1995 through 2010. However, it is still unknown what our Army, which uses the products of this industry, will amount to 15 years from now. The General Staff assumes that the Army will purchase 70 percent of materiel within the country. However, specifically what kind of equipment it will buy is unknown. Most countries plan defense industry production five years in advance.

[Box, p 16]

Two years from now, the Polish defense industry might prosper. However, in order to live to see such prosperity the defense industry must know right now what the Polish Army will need when this period ends.

[Box, p 16]

While in the service, a Polish tanker fires 12 rounds. Stocks of ammunition will suffice for many years. Production of new ammunition is thus unnecessary.

Increased Crime in Military Examined

95EP0136A Poznan WPROST in Polish 28 May 95 No 22, pp 26-27

[Article by Kacper Mackowiak: "An Undisciplined Army: In the Past Five Years, the Number of Assaults on Commanders by Servicemen Has Quintupled"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Each year the number of criminals in uniform is increasing by several percent. In 1994 a total of 2,194 criminals (of whom 1,731 were in basic military service) were identified among military personnel. A year earlier 2,096 servicemen, of whom 1,675 were noncareer soldiers) had been in conflict with the law.

"I'm unable to answer the question of whether that is the entire number of punishable offenses or only the tip of the iceberg," said Colonel Wlodzimierz Pospiech, the press spokesman for the Supreme Military Procurature. "It would be difficult to speak of complicity; yet, unit commanders are held accountable for discipline and I am not certain whether they are interested in disclosing all the instances of its violation. Certainly, it is the most drastic instances which come out into the open."

"The commanders try to avoid the trouble involved in initiating investigative proceedings," claimed Lt. Col. Slawomir Gorzkiewicz, Deputy Prosecutor of the Warsaw Military District.

This principle undoubtedly applies to the disciplinary penalties imposed on servicemen by the unit commander. All the same, their number is disturbingly high: according to estimates, each year statistically every second serviceman undergoes disciplinary punishment. The level of the army's morale is illustrated by CBOS [Public Opinion Survey Center] surveys, according to which, only 20 percent of the personnel in basic military service profess total obedience to military rules and regulations, and 10 percent do not adhere to them at all, while the remainder obey them "to a large extent" or partially.

A particularly disturbing phenomenon is the rise in the number of assaults on superiors and those senior in rank. Thus, while in 1989 there were only 19 such assaults, in 1993 their number soared to 102, and in 1994 it was 97. In the first quarter of 1995 the number of such felonies began to rise again in the Silesian Military District. The assailants always were soldiers in basic service, and 65 of them were under the influence of alcohol at the moment of the assault. The objects of their aggression were most often noncommissioned officers in basic military service and servicemen senior in rank or function, such as squad leaders and O.D.'s [officers on duty] in subunits.

In February 1994, in Legnica a drunken private who had returned from being AWOL on a day pass awakened his fellow soldiers at 0100 hours and vandalized their dormitory room. When the noncommissioned O.D. tried to intervene, the private punched him in the face three times. In a similar case, a drunken serviceman in Glogow first beat up a fellow soldier, then burned another's hair with a cigarette lighter, broke the nose of the squad leader who tried to intervene, and finally struck the noncom O.D. in the face with his fist.

"The actual number of such felonies and misdemeanors is much greater. Unless the person assaulted sustains

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serious injury, the servicemen settle such matters among themselves, without involving the military prosecutor. As for the commanders, when they learn unofficially about an incident of this kind, they do not pursue it further either, because that would mean having to provide an explanation to their superiors and face an investigation of the unit," said an educational officer.

The assaults happen most often upon return from day-pass leaves and from furloughs. Career officers and noncoms tend to use the O.D. officers or noncoms to calm the inebriated soldiers, without intervening themselves, so as to avoid a melee.

Drunken servicemen not only brawl among themselves but also assault career soldiers, something that only a few years ago had been inconceivable.

Last year in Opole a drunken soldier returning on a day pass to his unit insulted the noncom O.D. and subsequently slugged an intervening officer. In the Polish [U.N. peacekeeping] battalion in the Balkans two drunken privates assaulted their subunit commander, a sergeant. A soldier who tried to defend him was severely beaten. In Zagan three soldiers dealt several blows to their subunit commander, a warrant officer. Two of them had previously been meted out disciplinary punishment several times, and all three had criminal records prior to their enlistment. In Osina Wielka a sergeant serving as the O.D. noticed a soldier drinking wine while on duty. When he wanted to take away the bottle, the soldier held on to it, because, as he explained to the military prosecutor, he was afraid that "the sergeant would pour the wine out." The sergeant summoned the emergency platoon for assistance, which so infuriated the soldier that he attempted to throw him out through the window of the guardroom while at the same time hitting him in the neck.

"We prosecute such cases with the utmost severity, because they are a real danger to the level of discipline in the military. In recent years, however, we have found that so-called military offenses account for a minority of the cases we investigate, with typically criminal cases predominating," said Lt. Col. Waldemar Dubas, chief of the Military Procurature in Wroclaw.

The most frequent crimes perpetrated by servicemen are thefts and burglaries.

They readily pilfer spare tires, storage batteries, mirrors, and other automotive accessories (40 percent), which can be easily sold while on leave, and use the money thus obtained to buy alcohol. One of the 1995 record breakers in this respect, a Nowy Sacz serviceman, had during a three-day furlough stolen several spare tires for a subcompact car, tractor attachments, and then a tractor itself, and ultimately cutlery from the House of the Peasant in his native village. Several months previously he did some breaking and entering in a newsstand kiosk and stole erotic periodicals.

"Considering that in the last five years juvenile crime in Poland increased by nearly 1,000 percent, it is hardly surprising that in the military, too, we observe relaxation of discipline and a growing number of offenses," said Maj. Anatol Tichoniuk of the education department of the general staff of the Silesian Military District.

About 30 percent of the perpetrators of assaults on their superiors and nearly 20 percent of larcenous servicemen had a criminal record prior to their enlistment. It is precisely these people that provide bad examples to the military. In a Wedrzyn regiment, of the 700 recruits conscripted last spring as many as 15 percent had criminal records, chiefly breaking and entering or brawling. The situation in many other units is similar.

The Military Institute of Social Studies analyzed the records on 50 persons selected at random among servicemen who had been punished last year for absences without official leave. It turned out that 80 percent were to a greater or lesser extent mentally disturbed and 30 percent had been kept in the same grade for more than one year at elementary and trade schools, owing to, among other reasons, chronic truancy. In a military unit in Gubin 71 percent of penal proceedings for absences without official leave were halted precisely owing to deficiencies in the mental health of the subjects.

Major Anatol Tichoniuk said, "In one of our brigades, within as soon as two weeks after conscription, 521 recruits were assigned to the so-called short path, to mental health counseling clinics."

This problem will grow, because, according to scholars at the Clinic of Psychiatry, Military Medical Academy in Lodz, the mental health of Polish society is deteriorating. Each year 5-percent of recruits are classified unfit for military service owing to mental disorders. This is not because young people are malingerers. Their screening is lax: as many as 43 percent of servicemen are annually discharged for this reason even prior to the expiration of their military service.

Mental problems also are experienced by officers and noncommissioned officers—every fourth career soldier suffers from neurosis.

The stresses entailed in the restructuring of the Armed Forces have caused the number of complaints from the career military about psychiatric illnesses to more than double in the last few years. Yet, the military appears to be completely surprised by these trends. Servicemen are left to shift for themselves and their commanders;

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often, excellent professionals in their own fields do not know how to cope with so-called difficult soldiers.

"At first I dreaded to approach soldiers during a pause between exercises. I was paralyzed by the thought that one of them might pat me on the shoulder and I would not know how to react then," reminisced a junior officer of the King Jan III Sobieski 11 Armored Cavalry Division.

During the second year of the formation of a mountain infantry brigade in Nysa, the number of disciplinary offenses increased by 70 percent and the second lieutenants commanding the subunits were unable to maintain order. As a test, the brigade commander assigned a warrant officer with 20 years of experience to head a platoon containing the most unruly servicemen. The problem disappeared rapidly.

Unfortunately, at the schools training future officers, noncommissioned officers, and warrant officers the four-year curriculum includes only one semester with courses in principles of teaching or psychology. The military also lacks psychologists who could indicate effective ways of discharging the tension felt in the barracks. There are no psychologists on recruiting commissions or in units. Yet problems of adaptation to new environment are the reason for every sixth suicide committed in the military.

Likewise, many mental ailments revealed during service are directly related to the conditions in the barracks.

An education officer said, "In one company in our unit we observed relaxation of discipline. It turned out that the soldiers had no place to dry their boots and uniforms in, so they had to wear wet clothing all the time. I asked the staff chief to find suitable premises for drying boots and uniforms and the problems nearly disappeared."

But the greatest enemy of discipline in the Polish military is boredom. To save on funds, regular military training involving operation of equipment, practice firing, and trips to firing ranges, has been considerably restricted. Often the only duty of servicemen is to keep the barracks clean, in which they stay most of the time. It has been observed, for example, that offenses and crimes "counter to the regulations governing treatment of subordinates" (a phrase actually most often referring to eruptions of rage) occur most often in the units with infrequent training. A study by the Military Institute of Social Studies indicates that the proportion of those viewing military service as "a pointless waste of time" was only 7 percent in a unit training automotive experts, whereas it was 65 percent in a guard-duty unit.

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SRI Director Rebuffs Iliescu KGB Charges

AU0307192695 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 28 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Andra Aurora Manta: "Virgil Magureanu Stated That the Evidence of Ion Iliescu's Having Been Recruited by the KGB Is Gross Forgery Fabricated by Tana Ardeleanu From the Daily ZIUA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Parliament panel exerting control over the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] decided yesterday, following a hearing with Virgil Magureanu, the director of that institution, to initiate investigations to reveal all details about the case of the two Surveillance Division agents, who, while on an operative counterespionage mission, let themselves be uncovered by citizens of the capital city and who are suspected of having tailed reporters Tana Ardeleanu, of the daily ZIUA, and George Scutaru, of the MEDIAFAX news agency.

If Proved Guilty, Virgil Magureanu Will Resign

The investigations of the panel, which are scheduled to begin on 3 July, are intended to include an impressive number of hearings of SRI agents and cadres, especially of those who are directly involved in this case. According to Doru Viorel Ursu, Chamber of Deputies member and one of the panel members, "the case is extremely complicated and a genuine touchstone for the SRI-controlling panel. Virgil Magureanu is willing to assume full responsibility, going as far as handing in his resignation, if he, as SRI director, is found guilty in any way," added Ursu.

Three Scenarios To Get Rid of Magureanu

During his hearing with the panel Magureanu detailed the 21 June incidents, when two surveillance professionals, namely Ion Poporoaga, bureau chief at the Surveillance Division, and noncommissioned officer Tuica, were caught while on the job, as if they had been two greenhorns playing blindman's buff. "Virgil Magureanu talked a lot about the ZIUA and Tana Ardeleanu," said sources within the panel. In the opinion of the panel members, there are three variants of the "plot": the first one would be a frame-up conceived within the SRI itself, aiming to get rid of Magureanu; the second one would be a plot set up by a rival secret service with the intent to discredit the SRI; and a surprising third variant according to which the ZIUA itself is up to discrediting the SRI. Considering the fact that Sorin Rosca Stanescu [ZIUA director] used to be associated with the former Securitate, it is possible that he knows the two involved SRI employees very well and used the opportunity to glorify a reporter of his paper, so much the more that the journalist was the author of the article that presented Ion Iliescu as former collaborator of the KGB. Another hypothesis, which should not be ignored at all, is that of a "revenge" coming from the people who were demoted from the SRI during the process of purging the institution of the former Securitate members. In this context we have to remind our readers that one month ago EVENIMENTUL ZILEI reported that Colonel Tolas, then head of the Surveillance Division, was replaced on Virgil Magureanu's orders with Colonel Rusan. Actually at that time a large-scale purging was under way among the cadres of that division.

"Tana Ardeleanu Wrote Igor Botnarchuk's Letter With Her Own Little Hand"

After the hearing, the SRI director declared: "It is not just that the SRI did not have the two reporters under surveillance, but also that the case presented by the ZIUA in the article signed by Tana Ardeleanu (claiming that Ion Iliescu was recruited by the KGB during his student years in Moscow) was absolutely clear to us as early as a few weeks ago. This is further proof that there was no reason for us to even attempt putting them under surveillance. The SRI will never put either journalists or other public personalities under surveillance just because of their opinions. The letter from which one can conclude that Ion Iliescu collaborated with the KGB (which ZIUA published claiming its author is Igor Botnarchuk, former KGB initiator of Iliescu's—editor's note) was written by Tana Ardeleanu with her own little hand! Iliescu's alleged collaboration with the KGB is a gross and childish forgery. Had I really considered the statements repeatedly made by Sorin Rosca Stanescu or Tana Ardeleanu against President Iliescu, myself, as well as other persons holding public offices, I would have had to fabricate sufficient evidence to obtain a warrant, as stipulated by law, to put them under surveillance. However, I have never deemed it necessary to take seriously what the ZIUA has taken the liberty of publishing."

"The professor," as his intimates call Magureanu, then answered a few questions of the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI reporters:

Reporter: "How do you account for the lack of adroitness and professionalism of the two SRI cadres specialized in surveillance missions?"

Virgil Magureanu: "This aspect is one of the goals of the Parliament panel hearing which was initiated. I regret this mishap as much as you do. I am also stupefied at the poor performance of those two SRI employees. Possible concealed purposes or aspects will be cleared up by the Parliament panel, and the results of the inquiry will be

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published. The case has been taken over completely by the panel."

Reporter: "Mr. Professor, who do you think wants to frame you?"

Virgil Magureanu: "That is a difficult question. I would not interpret this case as something personal against me. The attack was directed both against me, as in numerous other cases before, but also against the institution, considering that despite the slipups, recently the SRI also managed to achieve some good results."

Reporter: "How would you comment on the fact that after the attack against another secret service leader, namely Dumitru Iliescu of the SPP [Guard and Protection Service] [reference to Greater Romania Party leader Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor's speech in Parliament accusing the SPP chief of massive corruption], a new press scandal broke out now involving the intelligence service director?"

Virgil Magureanu: "I also wonder whether this is merely coincidental. After such a long time and after we managed to create an image for ourselves that is relatively close to the expectations of public opinion, we, for our turn, also expected to be treated normally. Instead, we are entering an acute phase. I would not necessarily interpret this case as something directed precisely against me. I do not wish to pose as a victim, because I am not one. On the other hand, neither do I wish to put myself in the embarrassing position—which I refuse to accept as an alternative—to ever lie to the press about what is happening."

The Russian Secret Services Laughed at the SRI

Furthermore Virgil Magureanu said that actually there is no case whatsoever. The ZIUA has concocted the whole thing and "Sorin Rosca Stanescu invents scenarios that I find hallucinating. At a certain moment I contacted the Russian secret services and asked them whether any of their people could be responsible for this. They simply laughed at me."

Thus, on Monday the Parliament panel members will go to the SRI headquarters where they will begin their inquiry. Virgil Magureanu's testimony is just a part of the evidence requested by the panel. According to sources within the panel, the SRI will have to prove, above all, that its two employees were on an operative counterespionage mission.

Chief of Staff: SRI, Tudor Behind Letter

AU0507131195 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 29 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Radu Tudor and Daniel Capatos: "Has Corneliu Vadim Tudor's Time Come?—The General Prosecuting Magistracy Has Taken Official Note in the Case of the 'Letter of 300 Officers'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt]

The Leadership of the National Defense Ministry Confirms for EVENIMENTUL ZILEI Colonel General Dumitru Cioflina's Statements

On Tuesday, 27 June, during a roundtable at the National Defense College held in Pitesti, Colonel General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the General Staff, took a stand on the "letter of 300 active and reserve military servicemen" published in the weekly ROMANIA MARE.

After the Ministry of National Defense and the Presidency had expressed their opinion about the "letter of the 300 officers," Col. Gen. Cioflina expressed his views clearly and in concrete terms, making a statement that had been expected by everybody: There is no active officer in the Romanian Army who could be the author of the so-called letter.

The statement made by the chief of the General Staff very clearly reveals that the "letter of the 300 officers" is one of Corneliu Vadim Tudor's [senator and president of the Greater Romania Party] nasty fabrications and it has two goals: To attack Ion Iliescu and to denigrate the army and its intention to conform to NATO standards. It is well known that C.V. Tudor has never attacked the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] and that this institution supported Gheorghe Funar [Cluj Mayor and Romanian National Unity Party president] in the presidential campaign of September 1992. We are in 1995 and it seems that the SRI has selected another person who should run against Ion Iliescu.

Colonel Dumitru Cioflina's Statement

"I would like to say with certitude that there is no such problem in the activity of the military. We have not received any information from our intelligence agencies about the existence of a nucleus that would raise a problem in any other way than in a report.

"The fact that there are difficulties, that there are problems, is a different matter. But to say that we have people who disagree, because they allegedly did not understand or did not have knowledge of what is happening in the army, in light of our prospects for changes within the military body, is simply hilarious.

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We are completely at ease on this issue. A great many of those who are implementing this reorganization, restructuring the army, have started reaping the rewards of this orientation. Nevertheless, this is a process resented by many because they have to move their family, change their homes, and lose their social circle that they used to have, and other such problems. But these are different issues, because you cannot restructure such a body in terms of size by looking to the left and to the right and trying to meet the interests of one or of several people.

"The law on the statute of the military, which is to be passed in the next few days in Parliament, will take care of all these problems, which could cause conflicting situations for some members of the staff.

"Whoever reads the letter does not have to be an official to see that it is tendentious writing and a fabrication, and that no one with the most elementary common sense could have been prompted into writing it. We have no people who would dispute what is happening in the army, because 90 percent of what we are doing has been discussed with these people. All of them are together in the work of establishing basic options. They have been given resources, troops, devices, and technology and we told them: Work out your structure, let us see to what extent you can get closer to the concept of the central body. We have no problems!"

The leadership of the Counterespionage Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense informed EVENIMENTUL ZILEI that "there is no indication that could confirm the existence of an organized group, especially a group of active officers, that would sign the letter."

Corneliu Vadim Tudor Continues To Mock Ion Iliescu

In the last issue of the weekly ROMANIA MARE, the accusations included in the "letter of the 300 officers" are reiterated and this time they are signed by Corneliu Vadim Tudor himself. [passage omitted]

In this week's article, Major General Dumitru Iliescu, head of the Guard and Protection Service, and Vasile Ionel, presidential councillor, are placed before the firing squad, being accused of wanting to find out the names of the 300 officers who signed the letter in order to kick them out of the army. In the last part of the article, Tudor mocks President Iliescu again, and calls him by the nickname "Nelu Cotrocelu" and suggest that "with the experience as a leader acquired since 1949" he should be able to differentiate among those who criticize him. [passage omitted]

Nicolae Spiroiu: "A Crime Against the Romanian Army"

The act of publishing the letter signed by the 300 members of the military in the weekly ROMANIA MARE is considered by Nicolae Spiroiu, former minister of defense, a real crime against the Romanian Army. He made this statement at a meeting held at the Ilie Nastase Club in Bucharest, on the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the former government headed by Petre Roman. Spiroiu also said that this act, together with other similar ones, uses the opportunity of the reform process that has started in the army, destroy this institution that is vital for a rule-of-law state. [passage omitted]

UDMR Head Says Internal Situation 'Dangerous'

AU0507185295 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 1 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Andra Aurora Manta: "Bela Marko Declared That There Is a Fascist Stream in Romanian Political Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The proceedings of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Council of Representatives [CRU] session opened yesterday in Targu Mures under the sign of a more radical political discourse of the UDMR leaders, as a consequence of the fact that Parliament recently passed the education bill, a law which all representatives of the ethnic Hungarians regard as discriminatory and anticonstitutional. Another reason for their radicalization, according to the CRU, is that the Romanian politicians use any opportunity to launch anti-Hungarian attacks, keeping the national issue hot in order to divert the attention of public opinion from the genuine problems of social, economic, and political nature in Romanian society.

The UDMR Chairman Called the Domestic Situation "Dangerous"

In his report presented during the CRU session, UDMR Chairman Bela Marko expressed his concern over the fact that the statements made by the political leaders "little by little have approached the position displayed by the government and the extremist parties with respect to the ethnic Hungarians, so that now no distinction can be made among the various parties."

"A Fascist stream makes itself felt in Romanian political life, and thus it can be asserted that a dangerous situation has been created. Romanian domestic policy is heading in the extremist, xenophobic, and nationalistic direction," added Marko.

The UDMR chairman also requested that the party should announce its official position on the education

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bill, and work out methods to counterbalance the law's negative consequences on the ethnic Hungarian population.

"In the past few months there has been no rapprochement whatsoever between Romania and Hungary, not even in the field of the bilateral treaty. Romania kept coming up with new objections concerning Recommendation 1201," said Marko, adding that the one to be blamed for the delays in signing the treaty is Romania, which refuses to grant special status to ethnic Hungarians, as stipulated by Recommendation 1201.

The UDMR Has Founded an Infrastructure of Its Own

The UDMR chairman reconfirmed Csaba Takacs in his post as UDMR executive chairman, that is, as prime minister. Copying the model of Parliament, they set up parliamentary groups within the CRU, which they call factions. They also elected the members of the standing bureau of the ethnic Hungarians' mini-Parliament. After three rounds of balloting they elected the CRU chairman in the person of Zoltan Dezsi, mayor of the town of Gheorgheni.

According to Mr. Takacs, the process of setting up the UDMR's own infrastructure is "necessary so that the ethnic Hungarians could exercise their personal and cultural autonomy."

The CRU session proceedings are to be resumed today.

Objects to Education Bill

AU0507182295 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Virgil Lazar: "The UDMR Denounces the Education Bill as Unacceptable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A five-day seminar, which is to end on 30 June and is titled "Ethnic Minorities and Human Rights," is being currently held in Cluj-Napoca under the sponsorship of the Council for Ethnic Minorities in Romania in cooperation with Foundation for Interethnic Relations and the Helsinki Committee of the Netherlands. Along with the "students" consisting of representatives of the ethnic minorities living in our country, the seminar is also being attended by people sent to Cluj by various foreign nongovernmental organizations, such as Mr. Frank Steketee, the director of the Human Rights Department of the Council of Europe.

Besides the debates proper, which are focused on the situation of ethnic minorities in Europe following the year 1989, several meetings took place as well at the headquarters of certain political parties and associations, namely at the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] and the German Democratic Forum. The meeting hosted by the UDMR occasioned a heated debate, during which Mr. Csaba Takacs, the executive chairman of that party, vehemently denounced the education bill, which is about to be finalized by Parliament. He asserted that as far as the ethnic minority education is concerned, the bill represents a major step back compared to the years of the Ceausescu dictatorship, and it contradicts every international convention signed by the representatives of the country. "Our union," Mr. Takacs said, "will never accept that our children should not have schools in their mother tongue. Nor do I believe that the other ethnic minorities will accept such a thing. Schools and churches are fundamental institutions, without which the preservation of ethnic identity is inconceivable."

In the same context, Mrs. Eva Cseke Gyimesi, the UDMR deputy chairman in charge of educational issues and a professor at the local Babes-Bolyai University, summarized the Framework Convention on ethnic minorities, which was recently passed by the Council of Europe, comparing it to the education bill, which, as she said, does not meet by far the requirements stipulated by the aforementioned international document. Moreover, Mrs. Gyimesi claimed, the draft education bill, in its current wording, is in contradiction even to Romania's Constitution. Among other things, she illustrated this with the following example: if, say, in a village there are merely two Romanian children, they can already set up a class with Romanian-language education; however, so that the same can be done for the ethnic Hungarian children as well, their number has to be at least 18, in general, or 12, in isolated cases. Mrs. Gyimesi also said that "pluralism in Romania should begin with ethnic pluralism, which has existed here for centuries. Throughout history we have been living here together, with long periods of tolerance. If we could understand each other during the dictatorship, why should we not manage the same thing now? We, ethnic Hungarians, consider ourselves a community that does not want to let itself be assimilated and that deems itself able to set up independent institutions. We have 500-year-old schools, among whose graduates are scholars renowned throughout Europe, which means that we do contribute, economically, financially, and culturally, to Romania's progress. We are its loyal citizens"... [punctuation as published]

Mrs. Renate Weber, representing the Helsinki Committee, considered that the education bill contains "PERVERSE" [capitalized as published] stipulations, intended to make the parents believe that the only from Romanian-language primary schools can their children

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continue their studies in secondary schools, universities, and so on.

Mr. Truta, representing the Council for Ethnic Minorities, could not remain silent at this torrent of accusations directed against the state power and, trying to make amends, replied to Mr. Csaba Takacs: this situation was created due to the treason of the OPPOSITION [capitalized as published]. However, his maneuver did not prove to be successful, because Mr. Takacs pointed out: "To us it makes no difference who voted for and who voted against the law. To us it is a grave and painful thing that we lost even the rights we used to have in the educational field... [punctuation as published] The foreign representatives will find it extremely difficult to sort out this problem full of contradiction."

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President Congratulates Serbs on National Day

LD0607114595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 6 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic on Thursday [6 July] pointed out major contribution Serbia and the Serbian people had given to the anti-Fascist victory fifty years ago.

Congratulating Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic the Serbian people's uprising day, when the Serbian people rose up in arms against fascism on July 7, 1941, Lilic said that Serbia was living in peace and trying with its active policy of peace and a prominent role in the peace process to help settle the crisis in the former Yugoslavia through talks based on principles of equality.

In his message of congratulations to Milosevic and the citizens of Serbia, Lilic said, 'The history of the Serbian people has recorded many wars which had stopped its economic and cultural ascent in those times when the struggle for freedom and survival had to become a basic national task.'

He said, 'Such past, in which many generations had displayed honorable loyalty to homeland and independence deserving to be permanently remebered and respected, always was and will be an impetus and inspiration to the people of Serbia in the building of the future.'

Lilic said Serbia's consistent implementation of the economic recovery program had displayed its determination not to give in to pressures which instigate war and push Serbian citizens into social misery.

In this context, Lilic said he was confident that Serbia and the Serbian people would succeed in winning a historical opportunity for development in peace, building, at the same time, good-neighborly relations and thus contributing to the strengthening of the Balkans of peace, solidarity and prosperity.

Serbs in FRG Protest Against Bosnia Deployment

LD0307121595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1201 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, July 3 (TANJUG)—The Federation of Serb Associations in Germany has described the parliament's decision to send troops to Bosnia as totally wrong and likely to escalate war.

In a protest letter to the German Parliament, a copy of which was sent to TANJUG on Monday, the federation said this was a dangerous move leading to further militarisation of Germany's foreign policy.

'As an inseparable part of the Serb people that has already twice in this century been the victim of unheard-of sufferings under German occupation, we warn that the sending of German troops to the former Yugoslavia opened the wounds that have not healed yet.'

The letter said that, instead of striving after the policy of understanding and reconciliation with Serbs, German politicians persisted in their impermissible policy of force.

Bonn follows a biased policy that favours Croats, despite the grossest and systematic violations of human rights of Serbs in croatia-controlled territories, the letter said.

Moreover, according to U.N. figures, Croatia has expelled more than 300,000 Serbs, to which Germany has turned a blind eye, the letter said.

Following Croatian troops' massacre of Serb civilians in western Slavonia and the expulsion of Serbs from the region, Germany's role in the human rights sphere is no longer convincing, the letter said.

According to figures released by Serb Krajina, at least 1,000 Serb civilians were killed in Croatia's May 1-2 aggression on western Slavonia, part of U.N.-protected Serb Krajina, 1,700 civilians were taken to prisoner camps and 15,000 forced to flee their homes.

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